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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2025



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HUNGARY'S POLITICAL EVOLUTION CONTRASTS WITH POLISH EVENTS

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 30/31 May 82 p 6

[Article: "Enlightened Absolutism Instead of Democratic Control--Limited Consensus Under Kadar"]

[Text] Budapest, May--Hungary is the only East bloc state in which there is consensus between the citizens and the government; it does not however extend to all policy areas. This consensus is not the result of a classic democratic process, but rather of an enlightened absolutism. There are no instruments and possibilities of a democratic control of power. During the last few years, some aspects of Hungarian political evolution were the opposite of that in Poland, even though until now a special affinity was thought to exist between the two peoples. In Poland, the problem of power control arose during the 1980/81 period. The subordinates were no longer willing to swallow the promises of those in power without being able to participate in their implementation. In the final analysis, these demands proved to be entirely unacceptable to the communist parties because in their opinion power cannot be shared.

For more than a year those Hungarians who are not forced to represent official thinking were vacillating between admiration for the Poles' courage and grave misgivings about their lack of insight for geopolitical truths east of the European line of demarcation.

Today many of them are reinforced in their belief that more progress can be made by taking the pragmatic-realistic Hungarian path rather than the Polish one and that there is merit in not questioning the basic power structure. They have confidence in the leadership which certainly is concerned with the interests of the population and voluntarily renounce direct participation in the exercise of power. Today there exist possibilities for indirect participation.

A Young Elite in the Ministries

A leading sociologist is of the opinion that only a few years ago the most exciting subjects were being written about in underground publications. Today in contrast, he feels, it is much more moving to read the concepts and ideas being written by young officials and scientific consultants of the

ministries and planning departments. The generation of the 30- to 35-year olds, which has only vague recollections of the year 1956, has adopted a non-dogmatic way of interpreting socioeconomic events. These people are strongly influenced by considerations of profitability. The proposals made by these young people, many of whom are trained economists, tend to lean toward radical reform. Much of what is being written today would have been considered revisionist 10 years ago and would therefore have been condemned. Nowadays these ideas find access to government and party circles and there become the subject of discussion. It is still a long way from there to practical implementation; but a basis for discussion exists.

#### Reforms: The Lesser Risk

The decisionmaking bodies have a positive attitude toward the quest for reform; for them the question is not so much whether to implement reforms rather than how many and how fast. Jozsef Bogнар recently told the general assembly of the Academy of Sciences that under present international and internal conditions there would be more risk connected with delaying and omitting reforms than with implementing them. Also, that a reform policy should make itself more strongly felt in the country's organizational and institutional structure. The same meeting was told by Central Committee Secretary for Economic Matters, Politburo member Havasi, that, always observing socialist laws, it would be well to bear in mind Hungary's historic and national reality to a greater extent than had been done to date. New procedures should be searched out, new means and methods tried. A greater role should be played hereafter in attaining economic policy goals by a realistic approach, initiative, creativity and responsibility.

The new Hungarian school of sociology, which has been strongly influenced by the monthly VALOSAG (Reality), does not appear to be blindly proceeding toward a foreseeable 21 August or 13 December. The fact is making itself felt that reforms cannot be forcibly imposed, but that goals can only be attained through slow, gradual implementation of changes. To persuade the leadership and the general public of the advisability of the next planned measures to be taken, the success of steps taken to date must be demonstrable. Good results have been produced by encouraging private initiatives; but this has not necessarily convinced all the skeptics. Skepticism still persists, not only among a part of the public which does not trust these procedures, but also among the Marxist dogmatists. Even the most enlightened new sociologists do not exclude the possibility of a return to orthodox Marxist conditions. But at this moment, and in the current international context, time is on the side of the reformers.

#### Detailed Perspectives

The term "political reform" is being consciously avoided. However, with the above-mentioned organizational and institutional changes, this perspective is being gradually approached. At present, the emphasis is on changes in working conditions, e.g., participation in electing a factory manager. Inasmuch as in today's Hungarian interpretation of socialism a job must be guaranteed, but not a job of one's choice, labor unions have gained greater

status. They have a voice in reallocating workers from overloaded concerns to those experiencing worker shortages. As a rule, workers' representatives take a rather conservative attitude in such matters. There are attempts to bring about changes in salary policy as well. Considering their training, professionals in industrial enterprises are underpaid in relation to the laborers; the pay ratio between an engineer and an unskilled worker is often 120:100. A new type of communal business, insofar as it would be established on the basis of recommendations made to date, would have greater political impact by providing greater autonomy to the communities.

Democratic power control, which was never highly developed in Hungary, is being replaced by various pressure groups, in the view of the sociologists. It is widely believed that the state cannot and does not want to govern against the interests of the population. Society is no longer split into atoms as was the case under Stalinism; there is once again a whole network of clubs, associations, etc. During the last few years the regime has given due consideration to this fact; but it has of course never been confronted with radical demands.

#### Isolated, Untouchable Samizdat

It would however be an exaggeration to state that the Hungarian communists had made their peace with all intellectuals. A renowned writer like Gyoergy Konrad lives in isolation, with practically no possibility of being published. While written in temperate language, his criticisms are directed at the most basic principles. For the last 6 months there has been, in the immediate vicinity of the largest hotel for foreigners, a samizdat publishing house which is accessible to one and all. Once a week, underground publications are sold in the apartment of Laszlo Rajk, usually at 1 forint per copy, which just about covers the cost of printing. The number one issue of the publisher's program is the question of Hungarian identity. A landmark personality is the historian Istvan Bibó who in 1945 attempted to lead Hungary toward democracy by way of his Small Farmers' Party. The publishing house also gives Hungarians an opportunity to become familiar with newer ideas of Gyoergy Konrad, Miklos Haraszty and other opposition authors.

Last fall, the UN report about the events of 1956 was a bestseller. Technically, the publishing house has made great strides; individual works are published in 1,000 copies and are printed rather than mimeographed. The operators do not consider themselves as members of the opposition; rather, as representatives of a subculture. Like the free universities, they want to provide information about matters which is either not available to the population or else only as filtered through party politics. Political actions are not a part of the program. No pamphlets are distributed, nor are contacts attempted with workers. However, the contact network extends throughout the country at the intellectual level. Many of the contributors have lost their jobs because they gave public vent to their political views, e.g., in the context of events in Poland.

There are various views as to why the state is tolerating this enterprise. On the one hand, there is no desire to create undue excitement, especially since no mass movement can evolve from this subculture. On the other hand, Laszlo Rajk is just about untouchable as far as the regime is concerned. His father, the former communist functionary and Hungary's foreign minister, was the victim of the Rakosi regime's first show trial and was executed in 1949. It is in Kadar's own best interest not to revive the memories of those times.

9273

CSO: 2300/288

PROFILES OF LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 24-25

[Report: "Awarded for Services to the GO na NRB [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic]"]

[Text] Aleksandur Iliev Uzunov



His responsible positions as mayor of the Shumen conurbation system and chief of Civil Defense demand of Aleksandur Uzunov his entire strength and account for most of his time. He skillfully combines his work in these important directions by determining promptly the tasks which must be carried on that particular day, week, month and year and undertakes their timely solution. As Civil Defense chief he is doing a great deal to popularize the highly humane and patriotic work of the Civil Defense system as an important party and state task. Personal organization and self-discipline are characteristic features of Aleksandur Uzunov's managerial style.

He was particularly active last year, when Shumen was given the great honor of being one of the centers in which the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state would be celebrated. He faced a number of problems but even during those active days and months he did not ignore his obligations as Civil Defense chief. He received steady information from chief of staff Zhelyazkov or other subordinates on the implementation of Civil Defense assignments and the training, classes and exercises he was unable to attend.

Naturally, the city mayor had a great deal to do in connection with the inauguration of the anniversary projects. However, it was precisely during that period that the okrug suffered from a natural disaster. Roads were blocked and a snow storm tore the electric wiring. A number of people remained without shelter and transportation schedules were violated. Civil Defense Chief Aleksandur Uzunov personally visited the stricken areas and saw to it that the victims had food and premises. Under his competent leadership the Civil Defense personnel in the Shumen conurbation system once again proved to be highly trained and conscientious fighters for the protection of the people and the people's property. Aleksandur Uzunov is the bearer of the three classes of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" for his active efforts as Civil Defense chief in Shumen and his high civic feeling of duty.

Dimitur Atanasov Chestimenov



A manager of the okrug Public Health Directorate has many responsible assignments. In addition to ensuring the population's health care in times of peace, he must develop an organization and prepare the medical protection of the same population in an eventual war in which nuclear, chemical or biological weapons may be used! That is why as chief of the Civil Defense okrug medical service, Dr Chestimenov approaches these obligations seriously and responsibly. From the very first days of his service he has worked persistently to equip the hospitals and medical support detachments, to organize and train medical units and prepare the population for self- and mutual aid.

A head of the Public Health Directorate in an okrug has extensive opportunities thanks to a well trained medical personnel in hospitals, polyclinics and health services in settlements and enterprises, and the availability of material training facilities. However, the work too is extensive. Doctor Chestimenov involves in this work the okrug health workers, the personnel of the okrug committee and the obshtina Bulgarian Red Cross committees and, with them, the entire Red Cross organization. The job is indeed difficult, bearing in mind that he is also the chairman of the okrug Bulgarian Red Cross Committee. However, this also increases his possibility of directing the efforts of all health workers and sanitary units in training for the protection of the population under critical situations.



Using these opportunities, last year the head of the medical service willingly accepted the challenge of the Smolyan people for competition between medical services, medical support detachments and antiepidemiological units. A tremendous amount of work was undertaken in the okrug under his guidance in connection with this initiative.

A noble competition was launched in which the chief of service invested a great deal of effort and organizational experience. Many health workers became involved in the competition. Extensive competition came from other okrugs but the Khaskovo Okrug medical service came out of the competition honorably. The medical support detachment was in third place and the medical service as a whole was the fifth best in the country.

Dr Chestimenov pays a great deal of attention to the training of mass medical formations. He appoints the physicians in charge of sanitary units, organizes the training-methodical rallies and sees to it that they are well prepared. He has also resolved the problem of practical training of sanitary units in hospitals. He has created conditions for the members of the sanitary units to acquire permanent skills in providing medical aid to casualties and in all possible contamination areas.

Dr Chestimenov maintains very good relations with the okrug Civil Defense staff, providing the necessary help in medical defense training. He prepares himself well for staff training and command-staff exercises in which he displays initiative and a creative approach, submits properly substantiated suggestions to the okrug Civil Defense chief and ensures the implementation of protection measures.

Dr Chestimenov was awarded the badge "For Services to the CO na NRB" for his steady organizational efforts to strengthen the okrug's medical service.

Nedyalko Nenov Arabadzhiev



It would be hard to detect a difference in the attitude toward the obligations which Nedyalko Arabadzhiev has as director of the Nadara State Enterprise and chief of the project's civil defense. He considers them of equal importance, for which reason he dedicates the necessary forces, ability and creative enthusiasm in resolving the various problems.

Nedyalko Arabadzhiev's strength comes from deep ancestral roots. As the offspring of a poor family of workers and peasants, at the age of 13 he was forced to earn his own living. He left his native Zlatitsa and joined the ranks of the printing workers in Sofia, where he acquired his class training.

As he himself says, he belongs to the happy generation which was able to taste the "charms" of capitalism and the flames of the resistance in which his best friend and roommate--the partisan Nikola Chuchulkov, from Kralev Dol Village, Pernik Okrug, died. He experienced the horrors of the war, the enthusiasm of the victory, the joy of constructive work and the pride which comes from accomplishments. He worked and attended night school, after which he was a correspondence student at the Karl Marks Economics Institute. Both as a worker and manager Nedyalko Arabadzhiev proved to be a disciplined and persistent working person aware of his duties.

He displays the same qualities as chief of the project's Civil Defense, which has been organized on a firm basis. Formations, ready and trained to engage in rescue operations in the case of natural disasters, major production accidents and wartime, have been organized.

Nedyalko Arabadzhiev pays great attention to staff training and command-staff exercises as a tried method for training commanders of formations and chiefs of services. He sees to it that training with formations is carried out under the closest possible circumstances as those encountered in a stricken area. This is reflected favorably on the training and increases the mental firmness of the troops.

A major accident happened at the project one evening. The hot water pipe burst and a rather difficult situation developed. The pavement was burning and boiling water was rapidly flooding shop after shop. Those were the circumstances in which the project's Civil Defense formations joined the struggle for saving the enterprise. Great persistence and dedication were displayed. With cunning and a high civic consciousness, risking his health and life, worker Tsvyatko Krustev was able to plug the opening with his gas-operated lift truck. The rescue operations were under the personal command of Nedyalko Arabadzhiev, the plant's director. The excellent organization of the efforts to upgrade the defense readiness of the project is also the result of good connections between the staff and the administrative management and the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. The project's Civil Defense chief is largely responsible for the successful work carried out at the Madara State Enterprise in the area of civil defense. In recognition of his services he was awarded the badge "For Services to the CO na NRB" first class.

Georgi Mladenov Dotsin

For the third year the banner of the Vratsa Okrug Civil Defense, awarded to the okrug's champion in preparations for defense has been awarded to the G. Genov Machine Building Combine. At the time that Georgi Dotsin began his work as chief of staff, the project was in the last place in the competition. The first task he assigned himself was to involve personally the combine's management in Civil



Defense problems. In a frank conversation with the director, he did not conceal his ambition to improve the project. He had the strength to do so and his work as member of the okrug staff was helpful as well.



With proper understanding and cooperation, he undertook the training of the formations. The work with the sanitary unit was particularly poor. It was obvious that its members had not been made aware of their responsibility. A long and persistent work and training plan was initiated. Today the unit is the project's champion and in a leading position in the obshtina. Dotsin has applied his experience in work with the other formations. He has realized that practical training is the best way to achieve high-level readiness. He receives valuable aid from the shop chiefs who are well trained. They are in charge of training and keeping records and draft their own plans. Every fighter knows his position and tasks in SNAVR. The forces and facilities are also properly managed.

The project does not have a particularly good training facility. However, the chief of staff always manages to create complex circumstances within the project, making skillful use of the various situations which are the result of abundant snowfalls or other reasons. For example, heavy snowfall threatened to paralyze intracombine transportation. The formations were raised and within a short time the production process was able to function normally. Such was also the case during the reconstruction and modernization period, when the personnel of the accident-rescue detachment did a great deal of useful work.

In the course of the training process particular attention is being paid to interchangeability. All deputy directors and formation commanders can provide any necessary training. This is no accident. The plan of assigning personnel to train in inter-okrug schools is always fulfilled 100 percent. The people know the purpose of their training, for which reason they participate in defense preparations with a feeling of high awareness and responsibility. Nor is it accidental that the combine was the first in the okrug to challenge to competition in honor of the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. The challenge, which was signed by Dicho Dichev, Civil Defense chief, Slavcho Vutov, the party secretary, Yordanka Tsenova, trade union chairman, Lyudmila Khristova, the Komsomol secretary, and the chief of staff, included major problems related to

training, such as shortening the time for training readiness, 100 percent active participation in the training process, work on stability problems, training plans, propaganda, etc.

Georgi Dotsin, bearer of the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," is well aware of the many unresolved problems and the fact that it is his permanent duty as party member and Civil Defense worker to do everything possible for the sake of the noble objective of protecting lives.

5003

CSO: 2200/97

## MEASURES TO REDUCE FLOOD DAMAGE DISCUSSED

## Floods and Defense Readiness

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 6-7

[Text] In recent years, under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, the party and the government have raised the standard of the struggle against natural disasters and the protection of human life and the preservation of material values in our country. With Ukase No 265, dated 9 February 1978, the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council entrusted the Civil Defense system, as its second most important activity, the implementation of measures aimed at engaging in rescue and emergency accident repair operations in areas victim of natural disasters or severe industrial accidents. Permanent commissions were set up to organize and manage the struggle against natural disasters. Such commissions were established under the Council of Ministers, in all okrugs and most obshtinas and economic projects.

Formations with increased readiness were set up within the Civil Defense system, whose main assignment in peacetime is to struggle against natural disasters and major industrial accidents.

The party and government decisions and orders on upgrading the effectiveness of the struggle against natural disasters have always been welcomed with pleasure and followed by energetic organizational and performing efforts by the entire Civil Defense system. As a result, considerable practical experience has already been acquired in the prevention and lowering of the harmful consequences of natural disasters. In the spring of 1981 the waters of the Danube River reached an unheard of high level at Vidin--929 centimeters. The dikes and installations along the shore were subjected to a severe test. Under these difficult circumstances, the permanent government commission in charge of organization and management of rescue and emergency accident repair work in cases of natural disasters reacted immediately. Under its leadership, all such commissions in the respective okrugs, obshtinas and national economic projects were promptly brought up to a state of readiness. Specific plans were drawn up for the struggle against floods; guard duty was established in the Civil Defense staffs in the okrugs, obshtinas, municipalities and national economic projects; the river and the dikes were kept under observation; the Civil Defense formations in charge of the struggle against natural disasters were made ready and the necessary facilities along the vulnerable sections of the dikes were

provided. In accordance with the regulations and instructions issued by the competent superior organs, the Civil Defense, Water Resources DSO [State Economic Trust], the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Komsomol personnel, interacting with Bulgarian People's Army units, were able to prevent a number of adverse consequences from the raising of the waters along the Danube and won their fight.

However, in addition to the experience gained by the permanent commissions and Civil Defense staffs and formations, particular attention should be paid to some other characteristic factors. This applies, first of all, to the active and mostly voluntary involvement of the population, including young people, in the struggle against the flood element.

With a view to exchanging experience in improving the organization of the work, a conference was organized in Vidin attended by the first deputy chairman of okrug people's councils executive committees of okrugs along the Danube, the directors of the Water Resources Economic Enterprise, and representatives of ministries, economic trusts and the National Agroindustrial Union.

It is particularly important to note that during the intensive struggle against the flood, the power of socialist humanism was manifested clearly once again. The people reacted with calm to the disaster, knowing that they are not alone but that they are supported by their comrades and neighbors and that they are the subject of concern on the part of administrative and party organs.

However, are the orders and regulations issued by the administrative organs and the documents on the struggle against natural disasters carried out in full, accurately and within the proper deadlines throughout the country? A moist air front moved over eastern Bulgaria from 17 to 22 August 1979. There was abundant rainfall. A natural disaster situation with serious consequences caused by the flood developed in some parts of Ruse, Turgovishte, Shumen, Tolbukhin, Varna, Silistra, Khaskovo, Yambol, Stara Zagora, Sliven and Burgas okrugs. With Order No 54 of 28 August, the Council of Ministers assigned to the permanent governmental commission on the organization and management of the struggle against natural disasters and major industrial accidents to make an overall investigation and assess the stability and safety of basic hydroengineering installations, such as dams, tailing dumps, water mains, dikes, riverbeds, obstacles, and drainage and sewer systems, warehouses and industrial projects, before the end of the year, and to order the respective departments and executive committees of okrug people's councils to take the necessary preventive measures.

The permanent governmental commission did what was necessary.

However, some administrative and economic managers have still not fully implemented the Council of Ministers order and the instructions of the permanent governmental commission.

Investigations of the implementation of the stipulations of the Council of Ministers order indicated that a number of unresolved problems remain in ensuring the safety of dams and reducing the damaging consequences and harm caused

by eventual accidental spillovers. The work on the operation and maintenance of the small dams of the National Agroindustrial Union has not been improved. A large percentage of the small dams have damaged walls (in Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad, Plovdiv, Khaskovo and Yambol okrugs, etc.). According to the program for repair and restoration work in potentially dangerous dams, which was approved by the National Agroindustrial Union, five dams were to be built in Vratsa Okrug at a total cost of 498,000 leva in 1981. By 1 December 1981 only 80,000 leva had been used. The repair of dams is being underestimated by performing workers and investors--dam owners. Furthermore, not all dam owners meet the stipulations of the commission investigating the dams, as seen by its records. In a number of areas inadequate work is being done to maintain the riverbeds below the small and large dams. Some of them are covered with vegetation. From others quarry materials are being extracted regardless of the consequences of high water marks in the case of floods; the stipulation that projects must not be built in possible flood areas is being violated.

The maximal volumes of water from heavy precipitation are not taken into consideration in designing and laying out sewer systems. The systems are not regularly maintained and cleaned, as a result of which ground floors of residential and industrial buildings and warehouses are flooded (Ruse, Silistra, Burgas, Tolbukhin and others). Regulations are grossly violated in laying water mains across rivers and dry gullies. Their resistance to floods caused by heavy precipitation is not secured (Stara Zagora Okrug). No protection is secured for underground cables crossing rivers, canals and ravines (Varna Okrug). In some areas regulations governing draining systems are not observed in laying railroad tracks and roads, and building bridges.

What are the basic and most important problems which must be resolved by the Civil Defense system at the present stage in order to ensure the even more efficient struggle against natural disasters, floods in particular? They are the following: strengthening preventive measures and control over the observance of the orders issued by superior authorities and the stipulations of engineering and technical regulations; ensuring the fast information of the population in cases of eventual danger of floods near dikes and along the banks of rivers below dams; training the population to react rapidly to the "danger of flooding" signal; practical Civil Defense training in the evacuation of people and livestock from anticipated flood areas; training the population and the Civil Defense formations in how to act in cases of floods.

In the spirit of the requirements of the 12th party congress, under the guidance of the party organs and organizations, each of these important Civil Defense tasks must be specifically manifested in the activities of state and economic establishments and enterprises and must be planned and carried out as an intrinsic part of economic assignments. This is the only proper means for the implementation of the party's slogan "Action, Action and Only Action!" and in the struggle against floods.

#### Flood Danger. Causes and Measures

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 pp 8-12

[Interview With Minko Michev and Georgi Stanev by Dimitur Slavov]

[Text] The climatic features, the uneven water flow and the exceptionally rugged terrain in our country have necessitated the building



of a number of hydraulic reclamation systems such as dams, protective dikes, riverbed corrections, and others, which are used in regulating and purposefully directing and utilizing the water masses by the national economy. Currently, Bulgaria has thousands of dams, thousands of kilometers of riverbed corrections and protective dikes, including those along the Danube. Does this create a potential danger of flooding, related to the functioning of the hydraulic reclamation systems? What are the reasons which may lead to such results? What measures could the competent organs in our country take to prevent such natural disasters?

These problems were discussed by editor Dimitur Slavov with engineer Minko Michev, chief specialist of the Dams unit and specialist engineer Georgi Stanev, of the Dams unit of the Water Resources DSO [State Economic Trust] in Sofia.

Question: Comrade Michev, in connection with the topic of floods discussed by our magazine, could you comment in greater detail on two interrelated problems--the danger and the causes--specifically bearing in mind the hydraulic reclamation installations?

Engineer M. Michev: In most general terms, based on their purpose, the dams may be classified as irrigation, water supply, industrial, power and comprehensive. In our country irrigation dams are managed by the National Agroindustrial Union (NAPS) and, more specifically, the agroindustrial complexes which manage a large number of dams, and the Water Resources DSO, which is also in charge of a certain number of dams.

Bearing in mind the location of the dams, their volume, the valleys below them and the settlements, economic projects, first-class roads and railroad tracks along them, some of the dams of the National Agroindustrial Union are considered potentially dangerous. This automatically changes their grade and makes them targets of greater attention and supervision.

The purpose of the dikes along the Danube and the protective dikes and corrections along the other riverbeds is to prevent the flooding of valuable areas, settlements, farm crops and economic and other projects at high water levels. That is the reason for the attention paid to such hydroengineering systems.

Like most irrigation dams, the dikes along the Danube and the riverbed corrections are earthen. This type of installations is characterized by the fact that here phenomena develop very quickly and any delay in repairing damages may result in major accidents, frequently leading to the destruction of the systems. Naturally, this causes substantial material damages and losses to the national economy and even human casualties are possible.

The reasons for breakdowns along such earthen installations are many and varied. They may be caused by an icebreaker, an earthquake, high waters, strong waves, deformation of the dike embankment or dam wall, landslides along the shores, and

others. The fact that these and other phenomena appear suddenly and can quickly disrupt the stability of the equipment requires steady technical supervision. The reasons I indicated may result in the partial or total destruction of the embankment with all the consequences and damages resulting from the spilling of the water along the riverbed, which this entails.

Question: Our readers would be interested in finding out more about the nature of the so-called high waters. What are the more important measures which are taken to ensure the harmless draining of such waters?

Engineer G. Stanev: High waters are mainly caused by a strong increase in the surface flow as the result of the heavy melting of snows or heavy spring rains. The high waters occur usually in spring or at the beginning of the summer as a result of extensive heavy precipitation, which drastically increases the surface flow. The high waters in spring are characterized by indicators of substantial importance in terms of the operation of dam walls and corrected riverbeds. Thus, for example, spring high waters occur almost simultaneously in all the rivers of a given area, whereas high waters apply to individual rivers or parts of rivers depending on the area of the flood basin subject to precipitation.

Preparations for the harmless draining of springtime high waters begin in the autumn. All installations are surveyed most closely and damages and defects to be corrected are described in a detailed document. All damages are corrected before the winter, for there are few suitable days in spring, before the high waters.

Bearing in mind that in most cases high waters occur unexpectedly, in order for the damages caused along the corrected riverbeds and their installations to be repaired on time, the most necessary emergency reserves of working tools and construction materials must be secured and procured in advance. To this effect warehouses are built along the corrected sections of the riverbeds and at the dams themselves, in which emergency working tools and materials are stockpiled. However, in some areas this requirement is still being treated lightly. This is an important task which, according to our regulations, must be implemented without delay. In this connection, the respective Civil Defense staffs could provide supervision and give valuable assistance.

Practical experience has proved that constant observation and steady protective measures are necessary during the high water period. The purpose is to observe the installations and take prompt measures to prevent damages or, should such nevertheless occur, to eliminate the threat immediately. Considerable experience has been acquired in this respect by Vidin Okrug, where the Water Resources DSO organs are interacting quite efficiently with Civil Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Komsomol.

As the high waters move along constant and safe communications must be maintained between the dam or individual sections along the river and threatened settlements and economic projects and administrative units of the respective okrug center. This considerably improves control efficiency. Considerable success has been achieved in this respect but more remains to be done.

Question: How is control over the dams of the National Agroindustrial Union exercised? In this respect, what is the role of the Bulgarian Civil Defense system?

Engineer M. Michev: Technical control of the dams managed by the National Agroindustrial Union is provided for dams with and without a control-measuring system.

The first group includes all dams of the Water Resources DSO and a small part of the dams of the APK [Agroindustrial Combines]. Here technical control consists of steady observation and measurements, the collection of data on developing phenomena and their periodical study. The results are processed both analytically and graphically and, at the end of the calendar year, are used for drafting the report on the technical and economic operation of the respective dam. The reports are analyzed by expert councils consisting of competent specialists. The expert councils make decisions on the technical condition and engineering safety of the dam and formulate a program for observations and measurements, the operational period and the need for construction and repair work. The decisions are entered in protocols, approved by the Water Resources DSO general director and their implementation becomes mandatory.

The second group includes virtually all APK dams. Here technical control is expressed in terms of technical reviews as follows: in November of every year, for all dams classified as potentially dangerous; every year, for restricted and sealed dams; once every 3 years, for all dams of the National Agroindustrial Union, excluding those of the Water Resources DSO.

The commissions which conduct the examinations include competent specialists from the okrug agroindustrial unions, the Water Resources Economic Enterprise, the okrug Civil Defense staffs, the owners, etc. The results of the investigation are entered in official minutes which also include the decisions made on construction-repair operations, deadlines, and officials in charge. Both the minutes drafted by the expert councils and those reflecting the technical reviews are submitted to the okrug labor safety inspectorates which control the implementation of the decisions.

Furthermore, mandatory special projects are drafted for the dams administered by the Water Resources DSO, which define the potential flooded area should a dam break suddenly. In an emergency situation, fast and purposeful actions, without fuss and confusion, are particularly important. That is why, official instructions were issued in 1975 on drafting an emergency accident plan for the dams administered by the Water Resources DSO and the potentially dangerous dams of the APK.

The accident plan for each dam contains detailed instructions on the measures to be taken in case of accident. It indicates the need and procedure for the organization of an accident group. The purpose is to have at each dam a unit of competent people who can take measures to limit the size of a potential accident and protect the equipment and the projects under emergency circumstances. The accident group is appointed by the chairman of the executive committee of



the okrug people's council, who is also the chief of the okrug's Civil Defense, with an order stipulating the composition of the group and the required transportation and mechanization facilities. The accident plan also calls for building and equipping an emergency warehouse. The circumstances of a potential accident and the ways and means of fighting against them and measures to limit their outbreak are earmarked. They are based on the specific characteristics and location of the individual dams.

The purpose of the accident plan is the following: to program the activities of the accident group under different circumstances, including the specific conditions and ways for the creation and information of the group, its rallying, equipment, etc.; to describe precisely the means of signaling and coordination of activities between the accident group and the various state and public organs and organizations which must participate in activities related to the accident; to regulate the type and amount of materials which must be stored in the emergency warehouse and the enlistment and utilization of transportation and construction machinery according to the type and size of the accident.

The accident plan must be mandatorily coordinated with the permanent okrug commission in charge of the organization and management of the struggle against natural disasters, the Civil Defense staff, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the okrug labor safety inspectorate. The coordinated accident plan must be approved by the chairman of the okrug people's council executive committee and is mandatory for all services and organizations included in the plan. The leader of the accident group is given the absolute right to control operations on the elimination of the accident and his orders are mandatory for all.

Question: Nevertheless, have there been cases of catastrophic floods related to hydroengineering systems? What conclusions could be drawn?

Engineer G. Stanev: The accident at the (Vayont) dam in Italy is a clear example of underestimated systematic observations, measurements, studies and conclusions. In October 1963, nearly 300 million cubic meters of rock and dirt slid into the lake above the dam. This raised a 90-meter high wave which hurled itself against the northern bank of the lake and spilled over the wall. Thousands of tons of water and mud literally swept six settlements off the face of the earth. More than 4,500 people were killed.

Indications of alarming landslides existed but no one had done anything to prevent the accident or to warn on time the population in settlements below the dam.

There was a substantial landslide in Bulgaria as well, at Orsoya Village, Mikhaylovgrad Okrug, not far from the Danube River shore. Despite material losses and damages, thanks to the fast and proper interaction among involved organs and enterprises, such as Civil Defense, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and others, there were no human casualties and the damage was repaired within a short time.

A number of cases of damages and breakdowns caused by earthquakes have taken place throughout the world. Thus, for example, the wall of the Sheffield Dam in

California broke down almost entirely as a result of the earthquake in 1925. In this case, the interesting feature is that the central part of the wall moved in an almost single piece for about 30 meters down the current.

The earthquakes which took place in our country in 1976 and 1977 caused no damages or breakdowns along the dams.

The conclusions from all this are that there is no cause for alarm only when planned and purposeful preventive activities are carried out to maintain in proper condition all hydraulic engineering and reclamation systems!

#### Flood Control Preparation

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgaria No 3, 1982 p 12

[Article by Evgen Todorov]

[Text] When the "cherry-colored waters" began to flow down the Danube River at the end of March 1981, a rather long strip of dikes had to be kept under observation in Vidin Okrug, from Koshava to Archar, as well as the estuaries of the rivers flowing into the Danube.

The okrug staff set up a permanent group which included G. Belichki, representing the Council of Ministers, and Prof Tsacho Tsachev. At one of its meetings the group decided to accept the suggestion made by Oleg Yotov, the organizational secretary of the okrug Komsomol committee to let the Komsomol members participate in the observation of the dikes.

Within a single day the necessary base was made ready under the direct guidance of full-time Komsomol workers within the territories of Vidin and Dunavtsi. The watch began immediately and was very well organized. During the first 3 days full-time Komsomol workers were included, including the okrug committee secretary. The 42-kilometer-long strip was divided into six sectors and controlled from 13 posts, covering two to three kilometers each. Constant radiocommunications were maintained between the individual posts and the okrug Komsomol committee and Civil Defense staffs thanks to the radio stations supplied by the Organization for Military Technical Training of the Population.

Unpleasant surprises were not late in coming. On the second night, 60 dump trucks filled with dirt and a large number of sandbags had to be brought in to plug a hole made by a badger in one of the dikes. The hole was plugged with the help of Komsomol members from the nearby posts. In the area of Post No 2, more than 2,000 sandbags were used to plug the opening and divers were used to determine the precise location of the hole. The young people spent many days and nights closely watching the level of the waters, spots where water had sifted, and breaks in the dikes. At the beginning of each new shift the official in charge of the sector described the problems and sent the Komsomol members to the areas which needed special attention.

Good work was done also by the Ideological Education Work Department, headed by Secretary Sasho Dolumdzhyski. Special little flags and pennants were issued to those on duty, identifying them as Komsomol members. Newspapers were delivered

to the posts. Special passes and arm bands with the word "Guard" written on them and a Komsomol badge were provided. No outsiders were allowed in the area of the posts. The guard duty was coordinated with the heads of the various enterprises and organized in such a way as not to hinder production activities.

Once the danger of the high waters was over, a national conference of representatives of cities along the Danube was held in Vidin. It was attended by Rafet Sevdaliev, Komsomol Central Committee secretary, G. Belichki, the Council of Ministers representative, Komsomol committee secretaries of okrugs along the Danube, chairmen of okrug people's councils, and representatives of the Civil Defense and Water Resources Economic Enterprise. The okrug Komsomol committee suggested the creation of a national youth brigade to strengthen the dikes. A number of other important problems were considered. We shall focus our attention on the possibilities based on the initiative of the Vidin Okrug Komsomol members. This experience could be useful in other okrugs along the big river.

Properly organized combined activities of Civil Defense staffs and Komsomol committees could considerably facilitate the work of the permanent commissions in charge of the struggle against natural disasters and accidents. Such guard duty could be organized along other rivers should the danger of flooding arise and at so-called potentially dangerous dams. The Vidin experience proved that this is a good practice in the course of which the young people learn a great deal of useful things of great practical value within a short time. This is a good test of the strength and possibilities, conscientiousness and understanding shown by the young people. It creates conditions for the young people to become even more closely involved in Civil Defense. Today, when the entire nation is working to implement the specific decisions and tasks, it is particularly necessary for this huge army of young people to make its contribution to upgrading the level of readiness for the protection of the population and the national economy.

On the other hand, as the experience of the Vidin Komsomol members indicated, other organizations and organs can be involved in such important and responsible assignments, although they may appear to be unrelated to Civil Defense problems. For example, the hiking society supplied tents, overcoats, tarpaulins and lanterns to the watchmen and posts in Vidin; the Organization for the Military Technical Training of the Population supplied radio transmitters and radiotelephones; the Water Resources Economic Enterprise provided the necessary specialized equipment and materials.

The young people can also be of great help in repairing some damages and conducting some repair work along potentially dangerous dams managed by the agro-industrial complexes. Unquestionably, what the Vidin Okrug Komsomol organization has accomplished for the first time is both useful and timely. This initiative must be properly supported elsewhere as well.

#### What To Do In the Case of Floods

Sofia CRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 3, 1982 p 13

[Text] Should a natural disaster occur, the citizens must above all remain calm and controlled. There should be no panic and activities should be carried

out in an organized and confident fashion, whatever the critical situation; the citizens must be familiar with the Civil Defense signals indicating various types of danger, observe stipulated rules of behavior, participate in rescue operations, and carry out the instructions of the people's councils, the people's militia and the Civil Defense.

In the case of a danger of flooding radio receivers and loudspeakers must be turned on at all times in order to listen to and carry out the orders of the respective organs. Knowledge of the specific rivers, dams, water reservoirs, etc., which may flood, the areas which may be flooded, and the shortest and safest evacuation routes must be known. Personal belongings and most necessary objects, food and personal documents, should evacuation become necessary, must be on hand.

The following actions must be taken if the flood signal is issued:

The citizens must be evacuated along routes indicated in advance to specific safe areas. The cattle and poultry must be taken out of the areas which may be flooded and the active population must participate in the evacuation of material and cultural values;

If buildings cannot be evacuated, the doors of premises in which cattle and poultry are kept must be kept open; the livestock must not be tied down; the highest floors or roofs of the building must be occupied;

People who work in the fields or forests in the vicinity of riverbeds, ravines, and others, must be immediately removed to higher places;

In no case should bridges, pipes or other road installations be used as shelter in torrential precipitations;

In short downpours, travelers by car should stop on the right side of the road and wait for the end of the downpour;

People unfamiliar with the area or located in a flood zone must go to the nearest elevation;

Evacuated citizens who are out of all danger must observe the procedure stipulated by the competent authorities and help most actively the Civil Defense formations in rescue and emergency accident repair work, the building of spill-over canals and the strengthening of existing dikes.

#### Determination of Flooded Areas

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgaria No 3, 1982 pp 14-15

[Article by Docent Candidate of Technical Sciences Engineer Konstantin Mironov]

[Text] The Civil Defense organization and planning of some protective measures are directly related to the preliminary determination of the flooded areas in cases of sudden collapse of dams caused by a nuclear explosion or natural catastrophe.

The present article gives a specific example of the method for the operative, fast and, from the practical viewpoint, sufficiently accurate assessment of flooded areas on the basis of the following prerequisites:

It is assumed that the entire dam collapses suddenly (instantaneously);

The form of the water reservoir is not taken into consideration in the computations because of its insignificant influence on the water spill;

For some of the sectors covered by the computations, the cross sections of the river and the riverbed are considered as having an ideal parabolic, trapezoid, rectangular or triangular shape with fixed hydraulic characteristics;

The basic parameters of the high flood wave are defined for the axis of the current, based on a triangular shape, as a time function.

In order to determine the areas which will be flooded, we must know the height of the flood wave, its speed of movement, time needed for reaching certain cross sections, and the length of time of the wave which goes through them. These basic parameters make it easy to determine the boundaries of the possible flood zones on a large-scale map, which also resolves the problem of determining the potentially flooded areas in the collapse of a specific dam.

#### 1. Formulation of the Problem and Initial Data

The dam at hydraulic junction X has been entirely destroyed as the result of a nuclear strike. We must determine the parameters of the high wave in order to compute the areas which will be flooded within a sector 46 kilometers long (Figure 1).

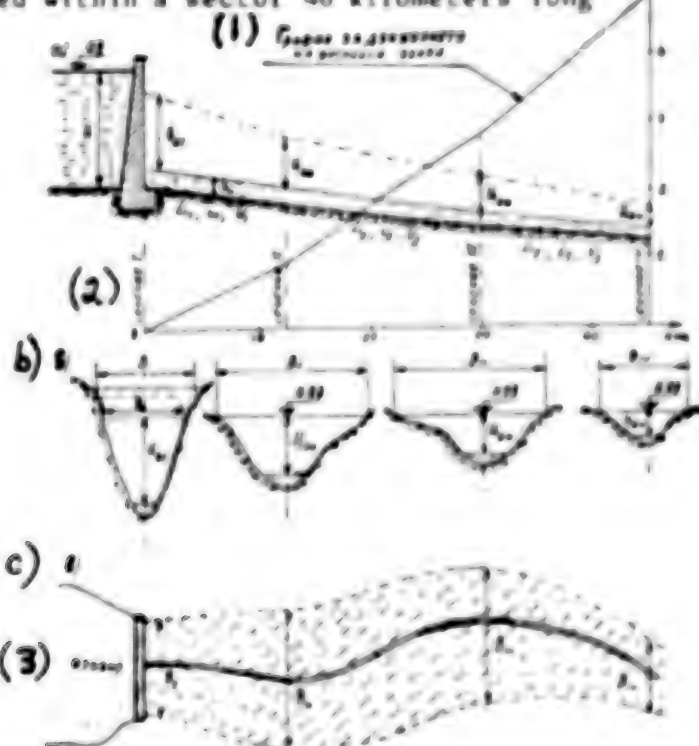


Figure caption: 1. Timetable of the high wave movement; 2; cross section; 3. dam



The water reservoir, the riverbed and the dam have the following characteristics:

- Reservoir volume  $W_r = 90 \text{ m}^3$ ;
- Width of the water reservoir at the dam  $B = 122 \text{ m}$ ;
- Depth of the water near the dam at the time of its collapse  $H = 49 \text{ m}$ ;
- Depth of the river below the dam  $h_1 = 4.1 \text{ m}$ ;
- The form of the riverbed is parabolic;
- The sector under study may be divided into three computation sections of approximately identical width, depth, gradient and roughness characteristic. ( $L_1 = 12 \text{ km}$ ,  $i = 0.0012$ ,  $V_1 = 12 \text{ km/h}$ ,  $L_2 = 18 \text{ km}$ ,  $i_2 = 0.001$ ,  $V_2 = 10 \text{ km/h}$ ,  $L_3 = 16 \text{ km}$ ,  $i_3 = 0.00095$ ,  $V_3 = 8 \text{ km/h}$ ).

2. Defining the Wave of Parameters in the First Cross Section (at the collapsed dam)

- a) The height of the wave  $H_{B1}$  may be computed approximately in the formula

$$H_{B1} = 0.67 H - h_1 = 0.67 \cdot 49 - 4.10 = 28.73 \text{ m}$$

- b). The length of time of the wave crossing the first section equals the time of the draining of the reservoir and may be computed with the formula

$$T_1 = \frac{W_B A}{3600 \mu B H \sqrt{H}}$$

in which  $W_B$  is the volume of the reservoir at the time of collapse of the dam, in cubic meters;

$A$  is the coefficient based on the shape of the reservoir, ranging from one to eight points; 2 - 3 are the figures used in approximate computations;

$\mu$  is the coefficient of the form of the cross section of the riverbed. If the shape is triangular it equals 0.4; if the form is trapezoid, it is 0.5; if it is parabolic, 0.6; if it is rectangular, it is 0.9;

$B$  is the width of the reservoir at the dam at the time of its collapse, m;

$H$  is the depth of the water in front of the dam at the time of its collapse, m.

In our case, when  $A = 2.5$   $\mu = 0.6$  we have

$$T_1 = \frac{90 \cdot 2.5}{3600 \cdot 0.6 \cdot 122 \cdot 49 \sqrt{49}} = 2.5 \text{ h}$$

3. Determining the Wave Parameters in the Course of its Movement Through the First Sector (between the first and second computed cross sections)

a) The time used by the wave crossing the first sector is:

$$t_1 = \frac{L_1}{V_1} = \frac{12}{12} = 1 \text{ h.}$$

b) The height of the wave in the second cross section is computed on the basis of the relation

$$\frac{t_1}{T_1} = \frac{1}{2.5} = 0.4.$$

On the basis of Table 1 when  $t_1/T_1 = 0.4$ , we compute the relation:

$$\frac{H_{BII}}{H_{BI}} = 0.7,$$

in which  $H_{BII} = 0.7 \quad H_{BI} = 0.7 \times 28.73 = 20.11 \text{ m.}$

c) the time taken by the wave in crossing the second cross section when  $t_1/T_1 = 0.4$  is determined through the relation  $T_{II}/T_I$  as shown in Table 1.

$$\frac{T_{II}}{T_I} = 1.5$$

or

$$T_{II} = 1.5 T_I = 1.5 \times 2.5 \text{ h.}$$

4. Defining the Parameters of the Wave in Motion in the Second Section (between the second and third computed cross section)

a) The time taken by the wave in crossing the second sector is

$$t_2 = \frac{L_2}{V_2} = \frac{18}{10} = 1.8 \text{ h.}$$

b) The following relation is used in determining the height of the wave in the third cross section:

$$\frac{t_2}{T_{II} + t_2} = \frac{1,8}{3,75 + 1} = 0,379.$$

Through interpolation we find from Table 1 the ratio

$$\frac{H_{BIII}}{H_{BII}} = 0,715,$$

in which  $H_{BIII} = 0,715 \cdot H_{BII} = 0,715 \times 20,11 = 14,38$ .

c) The time of passing through the third cross section is determined with the help of Table 1 with the relation

$$\frac{T_{III}}{T_{II}} = 1,47.$$

consequently  $T_{III} = 1,47 T_{II} = 1,47 \times 3,75 = 5,41$  h.

#### 5. Wave Parameters for the Third Sector and Fourth Cross Section

a) The time needed by the wave to move from the third to the fourth cross section is

$$t_3 = \frac{L_3}{V_3} = \frac{16}{8} = 2h.$$

Table 1.

$t_1/T_1$	$H_{BII}/H_{BI}$	$T_{II}/T_1$
0,00	1	1
0,1	0,9	1,1
0,25	0,8	1,3
0,4	0,7	1,5
0,55	0,6	1,6
0,7	0,5	1,7
0,95	0,4	1,9
1,25	0,3	2,2
1,5	0,3	2,6
>1,5	0,3	2,6-3

b) The height of the wave in the fourth cross section and the time it takes to cross it are determined according to Table 1 with the ratio

$$\frac{t_3}{T_{III} + t_3} = \frac{2}{5,41 + 1,8} = 0,275,$$

$$\frac{H_{BIV}}{H_{BIII}} = 0,783 \text{ и } \frac{T_{IV}}{T_{III}} = 1,333,$$



in which  $H_{BIV} = 0.783 H_{BIII} = 0.783 \times 14.38 = 11.29 \text{ m}$ .

$T_{IV} = 1.333 T_{III} = 1.333 \times 5.41 = 7.21 \text{ h}$ .

### Conclusions

The parameters of the high wave can be easily determined on the basis of these values:

1. A diagram of the crossing of the flood wave across the section under consideration (Figure 1).
2. The boundaries of the flooded areas in the area under study with known cross sections of the riverbed (Figure 1 b, c).

Let us note in conclusion that the practical application of this method is reduced to following the simplified block diagram of Figure 2. This method is to be used by Civil Defense engineering-technical cadres. However, the advance knowledge of possible flood areas is directly related to the planning and organizing of the population's defense (dispersal, evacuation, construction of protective installations) and increasing the resistance of national economic projects under critical situations.



Figure 2.

Figure caption: 1. Initial data; 2. Determination of wave parameters for the first computed cross section; 3. Determination of the wave parameters for  $i$  sector ( $i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n$ ); 4. Earmarking boundaries of flooded areas on map; 5. Wave height; 6. Time of wave crossing of first cross section; 7. Time of wave crossing on small  $i$  sector; 8. Wave height at  $i + 1$  cross section; 9. Time of wave crossing  $i + 1$  cross section.

5003

CSO: 2200/97

PREVENTIVE MEASURES AGAINST CONTAMINATION FROM CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 2, 1982 p 31

[Article by Miladin Kolev, senior instructor at Kiril i Metodiy University, Veliko Turnovo: "Some Protective Measures in Contaminated Areas"]

[Text] Projects and objects in areas in which nuclear and chemical weapons have been used become contaminated with toxic and radioactive substances. Projects contaminated with liquid toxic substances, radioactive in particular, may remain sources of contamination over considerable periods of time.

The extent and duration of the contamination of the environment with BOV [Chemical Warfare Agents] depend on several factors. The soil, dry grass, bricks, concrete, skin, tissues and wood absorb liquid BOV. Mustard gas can contaminate the surface of a dirt road to a depth of 30 mm. It can reach a depth of 6 mm in unpainted wood and 10 mm in bricks. Most stable BOV dissolve in lacquer and oil linings, asphalt and rubber, for which reason they can become sources of contamination over a long period of time. In painted wooden items the BOV remain on the surface or penetrate two millimeters under the paint. In all cases the depth of BOV penetration into one material or another depends also on the quantity of BOV used and the duration of its application. Under the influence of the toxic substances oil paints become discolored and the material swells, which is a characteristic contamination feature.

Food products and water contaminated with liquid toxic substances such as zarin, mustard gas, lewisite and trichlorotriethylamine are very dangerous. Mustard gas and lewisite penetrate meat products at a depth of two to six centimeters and fruits from 0.5 to two centimeters. Zarin penetrates particularly deeply. For example, powdered sugar and noodles may be contaminated with zarin up to 10-15 centimeters in depth.

The extent and nature of the contamination of the water depend on the physical and chemical characteristics of the BOV, the method of contamination, the size of the water reservoir and the speed of the running water. Stable water reservoirs, wells in particular, can remain contaminated for several weeks and even months, depending on the amount of BOV used.

Mustard gas, lewisite and trichlorotriethylamine appear on the surface of the water as oily spots. However, most of them sink to the bottom of the reservoir. Because of poor solubility and very slow breakdown, they retain their toxicity over considerable periods of time.

Tabun and zarin are more soluble and spread throughout the water reservoir. Zarin and tabun break down naturally at a very slow pace.

The contamination of objects with radioactive substances has its specific characteristics. The radioactive products of a nuclear explosion spread over a vast territory. The extent of radioactive contamination of the area and the size of the contaminated areas depend on the power of the nuclear explosive, the type of explosion, the weather conditions, the topography and the composition of the soil.

In the case of a nuclear strike on the surface or above the ground, the area becomes strongly contaminated not only in the zone of the explosion but in the wake of the radioactive cloud as well. Snow and rain intensify the fall of radioactive matter from the cloud. Under such circumstances radioactive substances can penetrate profoundly into the soil or concentrate in lower areas. The air becomes more strongly contaminated in places without vegetation. Under the influence of the air flow the radioactive dust piles up in lower areas and ravines and remains there. The density of the contamination in these areas is higher after a nuclear explosion and the folds on the ground cannot be used as a reliable protection of people and material values.

The extent of contamination with radioactive substances of food and medical items depends on the protective possibilities of shelters and the premises and packaging in which they are stored. Radioactive substances which fall on food and fodder products may reach a certain depth, which can reach three millimeters in wheat and 10 to 20 centimeters in hay. The water in the open reservoirs also becomes contaminated with radioactive substances which may dissolve in it or not.

Decontamination measures must be taken after a nuclear strike. The difficulties in decontaminating medical equipment call for taking several steps for its protection. Such property should be kept whenever possible in hermetically sealed cases. Bags with bandaging materials must be covered with tarpaulin, put in tents or covered with available materials (lumber, plywood, straw, twigs, etc.). A particularly good protection is achieved by creating an air cushion between the protected items and the cover, using straw, twigs, etc.

The same method can be used in protecting products and other valuables. Food warehouses should be preferably located in closed premises or be covered by wraps. Trucks hauling food products must be covered with tarpaulin. In most cases motor vehicles should be parked under trees or covered with grass, twigs, reeds, etc.

Special safety measures must be observed when Civil Defense formations operate in contaminated areas and clear mass destruction (contamination) areas in order to prevent the penetration of toxic and radioactive substances and bacteria in the organism or on the surface of the body and the equipment. Individuals are protected mainly with the prompt and skillful use of individual protection facilities. Long stays in contaminated areas are not allowed. Such areas must be bypassed when traveling. In cases of rescue and emergency damage repair work

under such circumstances individual radiation control and special medical observation are provided.

People operating in contaminated areas should avoid raising dust or seeking protection from shells and mines in depressions, ravines or holes in the ground. The people should not be allowed to touch contaminated objects, twigs or grass, or to sit or lie down on the ground. It must be remembered that hands and protective gloves may be contaminated, for which reason they should not touch the body or the eyes. In contaminated areas the people must not remove their gas masks, eat, drink, smoke or perform bodily functions.

Water in sources within a contaminated area, snow, or various handy materials must not be used in complete sanitary treatment.

After leaving the contaminated area and after exposure to contaminated objects the clothing must be reviewed by the individual or by someone else. Degasifying substances must be used in order to remove dust or mud from the skin and the equipment.

Constant medical observation and control over the degree of radioactive contamination of people operating in contaminated areas or after disinfection of contaminated objects are mandatory.

5003

CSO: 2200/ 97

LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE LEADERS PROFILED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 2, 1982 pp 26-27

[Report: "Awarded for Services to the Bulgarian People's Republic Civil Defense"]

[Text] Georgi Georgiev Nichev



Last year, Nichev was awarded the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB" [Civil Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic] for his persistence and courage in carrying out his duties as a mechanizer. He has worked for the State Automotive Enterprise in Karnobat since 1974. That year he also joined the Civil Defense. His truck is one of the technical facilities used in the struggle against natural disasters.

Whenever there is a critical situation, Georgi Nichev is usually the first to show up with his Fadroma Loading Machine to help casualties. His childhood as an orphan may be one of the many reasons which have made him so sensitive to human pain. He and his twin brother lost their father at the age of 10. They were sent to boarding school where they grew up surrounded by care and attention. It was there that Georgi discovered his liking for equipment. He took the predraft driver's course and his military service was spent behind a steering wheel.

"I love my profession," Georgi Nichev always emphasizes. His actions confirm the full truth of this statement.

The Karnobat area was hit by a fierce snow storm. The Civil Defense staff of the obshtina people's council was informed by the mayor of Venets Village that about 150 passenger cars, trucks and buses were stuck in the Paviliona sector. Dimitur Radev, first secretary of the obshtina party committee, and Stefan Zhelev, the chairman of the obshtina people's council, organized a caravan of all-terrain trucks and tractors. With Fadroma in the lead, driven by Georgi Nichev, they took off in the direction of Venets Village.

It was as though the blizzard was taking the snow from the fields and piling it up on the highway. Visibility was no more than two meters. The snow rushed through the openings of the vehicle unadapted to such situations. Big drifts appeared. The column had to turn back and find another way. After a stubborn struggle, wet and cold, the people managed to reach Venets Village.

For nearly an entire month, without returning home, Georgi Nichev fought the blizzards near Mudrino, Vulchin, Lozarevo and Chernidsa villages and Sungurlare City. He surmounted great difficulties with his typical self-control, firmness and love of people. He also earned the love and respect of hundreds of women, children and adults who needed help and who received it during those worrisome times. Georgi Nichev, a member of Civil Defense, was among those who contributed the most.

Georgi Petrov Stoyanov



In 1966 Stoyanov became Civil Defense chief of staff in Burgas. Soon afterwards he was assigned to Moscow, where he graduated from the Civil Defense higher officer course. Subsequently, he began actively to apply in his work the knowledge and Soviet experience he had gained. For 10 years, thanks to his efficiency and good organizational qualities, Georgi Stoyanov was able substantially to improve defense preparations in Burgas. During that period the material and technical facilities of the projects were improved, protective installations were built and offices and warehouses were equipped with the necessary



facilities. Civil Defense staffs, services and formations improved their training substantially.

Following the division of Burgas into rayons, Georgi Stoyanov became Civil Defense chief of staff of second (Purvomayski) rayon, which includes all the enterprises in the northern industrial zone of the city. In 2 years, the rayon held six comprehensive project exercises with the help of which the rayon chief of staff contributed to the solution of a number of problems in the various projects, related to improving material facilities, sheltering and evacuation. The complex situation in which the exercises were held helped troops and commanders to gain practical skills for acting in critical situations.

With the support of the rayon's party and administrative leadership, Georgi Stoyanov was able to increase in many enterprise directors and primary party organization secretaries a feeling of responsibility regarding defense readiness. This was reflected on the readiness of the projects. Good Civil Defense successes were achieved at the V. Kolarov Cables Plant, the Spartak Combine, the Pobeda Chocolate Goods Plant, the Marshal Tolbukhin Soap Manufacturing Plant and the Grain Feeds Combine.

The chief of staff pays great attention to the training of the population as well. Two successful exercises were held in sheltering the population of the Zornitsa and Izgrev Complexes. This year a similar exercise will be held at the Slaveykov Complex. With these exercises the chief of staff helps the citizens to learn the skill of sheltering themselves in critical situations and learn how to build radiation-proof shelters. Leaflets were printed to this effect and distributed among the participants.

The chief of staff has involved the active efforts of the evacuation and sheltering commission of the rayon Fatherland Front committee, the party secretaries, all house building councils and house building managers. All of this enhances the level and effectiveness of the exercises.

The reconnaissance section and medical unit of the Vasil Kolarov, in Purvomayski Rayon in the city took first place in last year's competition among reconnaissance sections and medical units. They won the okrug championship as well.

Georgi Stoyanov is not a person to be satisfied with accomplishments. He is steadily working to broaden and to improve his knowledge and demands the same of others. He is principle-minded, exacting and sometimes even strict in his relations with people. He loves order and discipline and is perfectly familiar with his work. He resolves problems easily and vigorously.

He has been the recipient of many awards for his highly conscientious and purposeful efforts. They include the badge "For Services to the GO na NRB," first and second class.



He considers Civil Defense work a vocation which brings him happiness and satisfaction. His dedication to his work, knowledge of assignments and ability to communicate with people make him a loved and respected leader who can teach, show and persuade.

Precision, accuracy and performance are qualities which Kunchev developed in his army career. Long ago, in 1947, he joined the great family of the People's Army. He graduated successfully from the People's Reserve Officer's School and served as senior cadet and subsequently as an officer in various garrisons. He left the army with the rank of major and began work on the other defense front in which he has been for the past 18 years.

Kuncho Kunchev has held a variety of positions in the Civil Defense system. His longest one was inspector in charge of the training of staffs, services and formations of the staff in V. Turnovo. His job was not always easy, particularly at the beginning when the foundations for the service had to be laid. He has contributed a great deal to the implementation of instructions regarding the structure and assignments of services and formations. He has spared no efforts to develop training grounds, classrooms and other training facilities. However, he has always focused his principal attention on the training of the Civil Defense personnel. He has organized and participated in many classes and exercises which have been carried out successfully and have been highly rated by leading organs and services.

Kunchev knows how to combine training assignments with propaganda and agitation. He demands that every exercise be accompanied by a great variety of mass agitation initiatives such as quizzes, ceremonious evenings, and various competitions. Troops and commanders will long remember the hike to Buzludzha, which was organized by the city staff in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of our homeland. Nor will they forget the ceremony on the occasion of the 12th BCP Congress and the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense. It involved the participation of all the chiefs of staff of projects, commanders of large formations, leading instructors, method workers and others.



Here all interesting initiatives are filmed, after which, if necessary, photographic displays are prepared and exhibited in front of the building of the obshtina people's council. Albums are put together and articles sent to the okrug newspaper are illustrated.

Unquestionably, all of this influences the mobilization of the people and the improvement of formation readiness. Kuncho Kunchev, who has worked for many years in Civil Defense, has made and continues to make his contribution to these efforts, for which he has been awarded the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge second class.

Vasil Purvanov Stoev



Eighteen years ago Purvanov was a fitter at the Andrey Zhdanov Railroad Cars Plant. He was given the party assignment to become Civil Defense inspector at the obshtina Civil Defense staff in Eryanovo and, 10 years later, Civil Defense chief of staff in the same city. Naturally, there were difficulties at first. However, thanks to his training as a worker and proper methodical and practical guidance provided by the okrug Civil Defense staff and Georgi Tropchev, the city's Civil Defense chief, he quickly mastered his new obligations. Gradually a storehouse was developed and a Civil Defense office which was equipped in accordance with the contemporary requirements for efficient training. Protective installations are under construction.

The chief of staff devotes particular concern to the proper organization of the training process. With the help of specialists, he drafts a schedule before each exercise. The necessary facilities, visual materials and other aids are procured for each class and exercise.

The selection of specialists for the obshtina Civil Defense staff is an important feature of the activities of the chief of staff. He prefers people who are active and loyal to the highly humane assignments of the Civil Defense system. After the selection, they are taught order and discipline and helped to realized accurately their obligations. He regularly attends staff training exercises and final classes with project formations.

His ability to communicate with people greatly helps the chief of staff in the timely solution of a variety of Civil Defense problems. He is able to find a common language with every individual not through coercion but through persuasion and personal example. He is greatly helped in this by his extensive social activities within the party organization and elsewhere. He has worked in the Komsomol for many years and is member of the city BCP committee bureau and the bureau of the okrug Bulgarian Trade Unions committee.

Vasil Purvanov's rich experience and organizational ability help him to keep the Civil Defense staff and formations in a state of constant readiness for action under difficult circumstances. This can be well seen during class work, comprehensive exercises and critical situations. Last winter, which was a hard one, affected many settlements in the obshtina. The troops and commanders of the city formations had to engage in a courageous struggle against the snow. Water supplies and electric power were restored on time. There were no human casualties. The operative group headed by chief of staff Vasil Purvanov was given a high rating by the okrug Civil Defense staff for the successful elimination of the consequences of natural disasters.

Vasil Purvanov and his colleagues spent many tense days and nights as they prepared for the Civil Defense holiday in Dryanovo, organized in honor of the 12th BCP Congress and the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense system. These efforts were properly rewarded. The formations in the Dryanov conurbation system proved their high degree of readiness.

Vasil Purvanov Stoev has been awarded twice the "For Services to the GO na NRB" badge for the successes achieved by the staff in Civil Defense preparations, for persistence in his work and for his steady dissatisfaction with accomplishments.

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CSO: 2200/97

## DAILY COMMENTS ON PCI REFORMISM

AU271122 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 May 82 p 6

[Article by Pavol Mestan, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences: "On the Positions of Reformism; Where the PCI Leadership Has Landed in Evaluating Socialism"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Recently the imperialist bourgeoisie has been trying to make use of the so-called Polish question in its fight against the theory and practice of real socialism, in the fight against the CPSU's leading role in the world revolutionary process. It is also aided in this by a part of the PCI leadership, the revisionist opinions of which were unambiguously formulated in the report submitted by Secretary General Enrico Berlinguer at the joint session of the PCI's Central Committee and Central Control Commission. It was published by the daily L'UNITA on 12 January 1982.

The stances formulated in the report are not new. We encountered them as far back as the preparations for the conference of European and communist parties in Berlin, in 1976; and particularly in the theses for the 15th PCI Congress in spring 1979. Even then Enrico Berlinguer was trying to push through some kind of third road to socialism, which is meant to differ both from the path taken in the past and at present by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and from the projects of social-democratic or socialist parties.

The path toward socialism championed by the Italians is not concerned with verbal demagogy, but with a demagogy which can be justly called practical. /It does not express the movement of the Italian proletariat, or manifest the increasing political power of the proletariat and the revolutionary liquidation of the capitalist ownership of production means. Its formulations create the illusion that it is possible to gradually pass, via reforms, from capitalism to socialism. Thus, in its reformist practices, a part of the PCI leadership is not showing its workers class the road forward, but is turning it back from the already seized positions./

On the other hand, part of the PCI leadership rejects the USSR's experience and the remarkable results achieved by the people of this country under their party's leadership. Contrary to facts and to reality, it claims that the "phase of the development of socialism, initiated by the October revolution, has exhausted its motive force." It is thus trying to falsify

the dialectics of the development of socialism both under national, and international conditions. The relationship toward the Soviet Union, toward the experience achieved by it as the first country to take the path toward communism, is the basic criterion of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The PCI leadership's declaration negates the Soviet Union's authority, which it has won through the successes of almost 65 years of its efforts for building the most just social system.

/In their fight against the Soviet Union and the CPSU, certain leading PCI figures are neither original, nor novel. They merely repeat old bourgeois socioreformist theses./ In connection with this we are not surprised at the PCI leadership's declaration on the margin of the situation in present Poland: "That is why we--and, I repeat, not only we--have demanded, and considered feasible, the development of Polish socialism in the democratic and pluralist sense. But this did not materialize."

It did not materialize because those who are regarded as the bearers of "pluralist Polish socialism" have nothing in common with socialism. It did not materialize since the proclamation of the state of emergency has halted the disintegration of the entire social life of socialist Poland and its counterrevolutionary disruption. Political pluralism, aimed at defending the capitalist social system as unchangeable and eternal, is a tool in the fight against real socialism--in the fight against the workers class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. The forces which are meant to realize the counterrevolutionary slogan on pluralism in the socialist countries are determined by anticommunist centers in cooperation with the revisionists, according to the specific conditions in individual countries: In Poland this role was to have been played by so-called free Solidarity trade unions. At the same time pluralism is being combined with the slogan of democracy, which is understood from bourgeois positions: In an abstract and nonclass manner, or more specifically, in a crystallized class manner viewed from bourgeois positions.

But who was it that was so concerned with the developments in Poland taking this direction? Of course, the NATO countries' representatives. They even supported it directly.

Understandably, the Socialist International--the "sole defender" of justice and democracy in the world, as it has designated itself--could not but also adopt a stand on the events in Poland. This, too, rested on positions not too distant from those adopted by the NATO states' ministers.

/The bourgeois governments are consistently striving to reach their important goals: To distract attention from the general crisis that is taking place in their countries; to disparage real socialism in the eyes of their own workers class; and to introduce further tension both into the situation in the Polish people's republic, and into the entire socialist community. It seems to them that in this connection it could become easier to operate with theses on the so-called military threat of the Soviet Union, and far simpler to explain the growing expenditures for armament and so forth./

Wherein do the opinions of a part of the PCI leadership differ from these opinions? The answer is unambiguous: In nothing. That is, we again have here a confirmation of the meaning of revisionism for the workers movement.

In its declaration, the PCI leadership speaks of the right of "creative approach" and "creative criticism" in resolving new questions. It is probably no coincidence that in its "creative" criticism it concentrates primarily on the Marxism of the 20th century--on the Leninist doctrine.

With regard to Leninism, E. Berlinguer said time and again that the formulations of article No 5 of the PCI statutes, which refers to Marxism-Leninism, should be replaced as inadequate and as producing the impression of rigidity and isolation by a formulation that would express the party's foundations "more correctly and fully." But in the report mentioned above he goes even further. He leaves the territory of his party and transgresses its borders, adopting in this connection an attitude toward the entire socialist community. He claims: "Instead of the practice which creates new realities and new ideas (in the countries of real socialism--P.M.), they put in the first place ideology, and even some kind of ideological creed, represented by so-called Marxism-Leninism which they understand as an ossified doctrine of an almost metaphysical type....That is why we claim that these societies need a renewal in the democratic sense."

We in Czechoslovakia have some experience with the people who used to present themselves as "creative Marxists" and who preached "socialism with a human face" in the "democratic sense." Wherein lay their "creative contribution" and in what did they differ from the "creative activity" of certain members of the PCI leadership? They, too, denigrated our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, and strove to prove that the Soviet Union had foisted on us its own experience. They rejected Leninism as a theory which is allegedly quite foreign to our democratic and humanitarian tradition, and is allegedly suitable solely for backward agrarian countries.

/The only thing is that the CPCZ has proved its truly creative approach and its creative application of Lenin's ideas under the specific conditions of our country. The fact that this was no "copying" of the Russian Bolsheviks' experience is clearly expressed by the words used by Klement Gottwald at the Aktiv meeting of functionaries of the CPCZ factory organizations on 4 October 1946.

Thus, if certain Italian communists speak of a right of "creative approach," let us remark that it is a question not of a right, but of the direct duty of every Communist Party. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community has confirmed that it is impossible to successfully develop party work if one disregards specific conditions and national traditions, if one fails to take into consideration the trends of development, the domestic and the international situation--in other words, everything that influences the strategy and tactics of a Communist Party in this or that country. /Today, as in the past, Lenin's

words are valid: Namely, that every Communist Party participates in the development of the revolutionary theory; that the revolutionary theory emerges from the sum-total of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking of all countries. At the same time the experience of Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries, tested by practice, shows certain generally valid features./ But it is impossible to mechanically transfer the experience of one country to another. One must search for really new approaches, which would correspond to the specific situation. But by new approaches we do not mean an "enrichment" of Marxism-Leninism with revisionism and reformism, in the way we can witness today in statements made by certain members of the PCI leadership.

/Thus we can ask: Whom does the course taken by the PCI leadership benefit? Definitely not the Italian workers movement, or its fight for socialism--its fight against imperialism. It benefits the anticommunists and the bourgeoisie; it has nothing in common with the revolutionary history and the progressive traditions of this party./

CSO: 2400/278



## BRIEFS

**YOUTH UNION OFFICIALS**--At its 19 May session in Prague, the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union confirmed the appointment of Miroslav Havranek, secretary of the union's Czech Central Committee, to the post of chairman of the union's university headquarters; it also approved certain cadre changes. Jaroslav Koutny and Vasil Mohorita are the new secretaries of the union's Czech Central Committee. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 82 p 2]

**CTK ACTIVITIES REVIEWED**--The eighth joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chambers' committees for culture and education, held on 20 May in Prague, reviewed the CTK's fulfillment of its basic tasks--the acquisition and dissemination of economic, cultural and sports information. Currently the CTK has 31 reporters and correspondents in 30 countries of the world. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 2]

**INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM**--A 3-day international scientific symposium on laws governing the leading role of the workers class was concluded this Thursday at the CPCZ Central Committee's Higher Political Academy in Prague. The discussion and the deliberations were of great significance for international cooperation in resolving the tasks of the state plan of basic research, which is being worked out by the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Scientific Communism in the academy. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 May 82 p 2]

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### GOALS, MISSIONS OF WORKER MILITIA TRAINING CENTER OUTLINED

East Berlin DER KAMPFER in German Vol 26 No 5, May 82 pp 1-2

[Unattributed front-page article on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Central School for Worker's Militia: "Cadre Forge for the Workers Militia"]

[Text] The central training facility for our cadre militia was set up 25 years ago by SED Central Committee decision. That laid the cornerstone for regular political and military training for the cadre of the working class militia. It also established important preconditions for systematically improving the continuity and quality attained meanwhile in the political and military leadership of militia units.

Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of our party's Central Committee, has often underscored the important role of the militia as part of the producing working class in the exercise of power, having proven itself in many situations as its "directly armed organ." Together with the other armed forces in the GDR, it ensures the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power and our revolutionary achievements. From its very first day, the Central School for Worker's Militia has been making its important contribution to it. In the years since then, thousands of militia unit commanders have been graduated, most of them even twice or thrice. It has meanwhile become "their" school. And it has grown in every respect. Not only externally has it changed fundamentally, but mainly with respect to the quality of instruction and in many other factors making for successful training, which also include the accommodations provided for trainees and teachers.

Anyone who has paid attention to the development of our school will be much impressed with the great solicitude it has received from the party and state leadership since it was founded and constantly so. Highlights in our schools' history have not been few. They then also always were milestones in the development of the militia.

#### Under Party Care

Among the outstanding events was the visit by Comrade Erich Honecker, Politburo candidate at the time and SED Central Committee secretary; in an authoritative speech to the seventh central course for militia commanders, he laid down the school's perspective and its tasks that have remained in effect to this day. Several times he brought a direct influence to bear on important development problems in our school. E. g., he took a personal interest in setting up all the preconditions for a modern training institution that would meet all demands.

The name given to the school was that of the unforgettable Ernst Thaelmann, and that imposes an obligation on it. The party leadership expects of it a training for politically and militarily qualified commanders who can successfully lead the units in their charge and are ready to fulfil any party mission. This mission from the Central Committee has been fulfilled in honors by our leadership, the teachers, party comrades and unaffiliated colleagues, both male and female, at our school. Tasks assigned have been fulfilled faithfully and loyally, conscientiously, with great dedication and diligence and personal devotion.

The Ninth SED Congress decisions introduced an important phase of its development. Having implemented them, the school collective can point to fine results in our school at its 25th anniversary. Suitable modern showcases were set up, visual aids were produced for important subjects in tactics and specialized training and other teaching materials were prepared, and the training grounds were much improved. Many collective obligations and initiatives helped further improve the working and living conditions in the school which eventually also led to great savings in our vital energy sources. With purpose and intensity we are working on other projects.

Commitments, borne by the entire party organization and supported by many unaffiliated colleagues, both male and female, sparked a combative atmosphere. Collective spirit, a sense of responsibility and creativeness find fertile ground there. All initiatives since the Ninth, and especially the 10th, SED Congress have been concrete and accountable tasks of practical utility. And so we have learned more and more to tap new resources for further improving our teaching activity, mainly such as would enter into the rich experiences of the trainees.

#### Responsible Mission

Trainees are known to be mainly experienced communists, toughened through many years of militia service and with sound political knowledge, a fine general education and rich in the knowledge of their trade. If a teacher instructs such a circle of people, it makes of course high demands on him, on the quality of his instruction, his pedagogical skill and his character, on his life and example as a communist. He in turn has a unique opportunity to enrich his instruction and make teaching, education and training as vivid and relevant as possible; and much here also depends on how skilled he is in tapping the trainees' potential store of experience and knowledge. We have had many good results in this respect.

The key to further improving results is then found mainly in still closer contacts between instructors and trainees, in further perfecting socialist relations between the teacher and the "pupil." That also includes the ability of the teacher to make all delegated comrades completely familiar with the course objective and the substantive emphases of the program as soon as the course begins. That calls for constant close and comradely contacts between school management and the whole teaching staff and the cadre sent to us.

The class mission assigned to the militia calls for extraordinary efforts and achievements from the militiamen, the noncoms and the commanders, especially today. They all know that in view of the growing war danger, due to the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy, the all-round strengthening of socialism, and

especially of its defense capability, is the most important guarantee for preserving peace. This conviction by the militia members crystallizes in the effort toward high training results and in ensuring a permanent combat readiness. Just as much, they meet the growing demands of our economy through exemplary achievements. And so the militia members to a special degree underscore the unity of politics, economics and national defense.

#### A High Level of Development

Each group detailed to our school requires a highly responsible preparation and decision. That also increases the obligation of the teaching staff to shy away from no efforts that will guarantee effective instruction. Not an hour of this precious training time must be wasted.

Evidence in many respects for the level of development obtained comes from the science conferences and colloquies the school has sponsored. These intensive conferences have always been concerned with major aspects in militia leadership activities and, mainly, with how to make the entire training and advanced training process truly effective. Undoubtedly, through such conferences we have been able more rapidly to generalize the experiences of the militia groups for the benefit of all units and convey new insights into our commanders' political and military activities. More than ever it is now necessary, however, systematically to analyze in all units the insights acquired in these conferences and colloquies and to apply them in practice. That is true especially of such crucial questions for the 1981-1985 training period as

- further reducing expenditures for the preparation, organization and conducting of political and combat training while enhancing the results the training is looking for, shown by the units' great fighting strength and combat readiness;
- ensuring a realistic rating of the results obtained from the training process and in the assessment of the units' fighting strength and combat readiness;
- sensibly working with standards and with regard to the tasks and deployment alternatives typical among militia units;
- possibilities for sensible savings in material resources, mainly in fuel, without significantly curtailing the time frames and training objectives as set down for militia units;
- ensuring applicable knowledge about the enemy and constantly deepening the enemy image; and
- organizing the kind of training that conforms with the tasks assigned to the militia units, so that militiamen, noncoms and commanders, tactically behave and conduct themselves correctly in any situation.

Especially through analyzing the third SED Central Committee plenum and the authoritative speech by our secretary general, Comrade Erich Honecker, to the kreis first secretaries in February this year, a successful solution of these matters was tackled with great elan. That our school has important research capacities by which further to improve militia service and training is shown, not last, by its constructive participation in preparing new training programs, a number of authoritative regulations, and in the preparation of the commanders handbooks. Ties between selected militia units and other school elements must become still closer to ensure a still more effective solution of pressing practical issues.

As anywhere else in our life so also at our school, fighting strength and party consolidation inspire progress. The further consolidation of the party's leadership role, under the conditions in our school, comes together with the full unfolding of the Leninist norms of party life, a critical, objective and frank atmosphere, a comradely and at the same time confident cooperation of all the communists and their impact as models. The constantly developing demands made on the school and the impact it has on the work in the militia groups always again produce new test situations. To face them and cope with them is a steady mission for all comrades at school, male and female. Undoubtedly, the service command, the entire school collective, and the party organization and trade union group will take our 25th anniversary for an occasion to work with new elan, with discipline and rigor on rapidly further improving the school's effectiveness, whereby to make a significant contribution to fulfilling the class mission of the working class militia.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EGON KRENZ REVIEWS BOOK ON HISTORY OF FDJ

East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German Vol 36 No 101, 30 Apr 82 p 3

"On the Birth, Growth and Struggles of Our FDJ"--Review by Egon Krenz, chairman, Free German Youth (FDJ) organization; of book "Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend" (History of the Free German Youth), published by Neues Leben, East Berlin, 1982, 16 M]

[Text] Our country's historiography has been enriched by a remarkable book. Published under the auspices of the FDJ Central Council, "Geschichte der FDJ" was put out recently by Neues Leben publishing house.

Anyone who picks up this book will look with interest at the documents and pictures it contains and find suspense in reading it. Each page documents how intimately FDJ history has been tied up with the history of the SED and the GDR. "One must seek to come close to the essence of history if one wants to understand the essence of politics"--that is Thaelmann's counsel by which the 10th FDJ Parliament let itself be guided when it decided to publish the history of our socialist youth association as a contribution to the communist education of youth. Anyone who knows of the struggles, victories and defeats of the German workers and young workers movement, of the yearning and dreams of generations of young people for a unified youth organization, of the effort to found the FDJ and of the history of the socialist revolution in our country, will gain courage and confidence for his own life from it.

The knowledge of history provides important building blocks for a firm communist class standpoint. At the age of 18, Karl Marx underscored that thought in a letter to his father, saying one should have to "look at the past and the present with the eagle's eye of thought to gain an awareness of our real position."

This book is a coherent Marxist-Leninist account of the historic roots, the birth and development of the FDJ, and its initiatives and accomplishments. Yet it does not start with the day when it was founded. Already the "Communist League" which had been founded under the leadership by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels was tied



up intimately with the struggle of young people. The leaders of the German workers movement, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht and their fellow-combatants always paid much attention to working with youth.

If this edition of the book concludes with the 30th GDR anniversary, that too is highly symbolic: what generations before us fought and suffered for--it has become a reality in our country. The workers and farmers state is, at once, a state of youth.

Through a wealth of facts, the book paints a comprehensive picture, vividly and impressively, of the historic accomplishments of our youth association. They became possible because the FDJ never looked for an easy way out but always opted for pushing ahead. This manner of pushing ahead is what the SED embodies. The critical source for all FDJ successes lies in SED leadership. Oriented to the party's history and resolutions, to the speeches and efforts by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, and relying on reports and information from the veterans of the workers movement, former and current FDJ members, and on long years of scientific research, the authors' collective, headed by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Jahnke, shows how SED policy enables the young to become active builders of socialism.

The first section, "Toward the FDJ," explains in a compact fashion the revolutionary traditions the FDJ inherited.

The FDJ embodies the legacy of the worker youth movement established by Karl Liebknecht. It carries on the work of the Communist Youth League of Germany that had been led by Thaelmann's KPD Central Committee. The deeds of young social democrats live on in it. It is fulfilling the pledge of the fighters against war and fascism.

This struggle gave rise to important preconditions for turning those conclusions into reality which the KPD had drawn at its conferences in Brussels and Bern: the unification of the workers movement should also heal the split in the youth movement. Even before the fascist beast was crushed in its own cave, the KPD Central Committee, led by Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, had a concept for starting youth activity under the new conditions. When through the liberation of the German people by the Soviet Union in 1945 the chance was offered for a fundamental change in German history, the KPD resolutely championed the creation of a unified anti-fascist-democratic youth movement. The suitable way for it, it recognized, was the cooperation among young communists, social democrats, Christians and other enemies of Hitler, initially on anti-fascist youth commissions.

From the outset the party followed the principle of Leninist youth policy to trust the young generation and assign responsibility to it. Together with KPD chairman Wilhelm Pieck, who was directly in charge of youth activity in the Central Committee secretariat, it was Erich Honecker who gained outstanding personal distinction in the implementation of KPD youth policy as the chairman of the Central Antifascist Youth Commission. Under his direction, the basic rights of the young generation were elaborated to be proclaimed later, at the First FDJ Parliament.

The FDJ was founded on 7 March 1946. That event marks a turning point in the history of the German youth movement. Who of us does not know the snapshot showing Erich Honecker, Paul Verner and Theo Wiechert signing the application to be sent to the Soviet Military Administration of Germany, to get the FDJ authorized. Alongside their signatures were those of Edith Baumann, of the Protestant minister Oswald Hanisch, of Heinz Kessler, of the Catholic vicar Robert Lange, of Rudolf Miessner and other members of the Central Antifascist Youth Commission.

Differing party affiliations, world-outlooks and religious creeds were no obstacles, they found, to heal the cursed split in the youth movement for once and for all. Establishing this youth unity was a heavy defeat for the reactionary forces.

The SED, created in April 1946 at the unification congress when the KPD and SPD merged, reaffirmed its course of giving all-out support to the FDJ.

The unified youth association provided a solid foundation on which the young generation could become a conscious coshaper of its present and future. Millions of young people learned in the FDJ to exercise their right to political codetermination. Alongside the SED, they committed themselves to crushing the political and economic power bases of imperialism and to constructing a new order. On all levels they have ever since been taking part in the exercise of power by the workers class. The FDJ became an essential factor in the political organization of socialist society. The GDR's youth laws of 1950, 1964 and 1974 also became milestones of SED youth policy.

The book persuasively shows the FDJ's contribution to the consolidation of socialism in the GDR and its outstanding share in this process as the new blood and part of the ruling class. Together with the FDGB, the FDJ became one of the initiators of the activists' movement. FDJ members were the ones that set the example for a new attitude toward work--as was convincingly expressed at the first youth activists' congress in Zeitz in 1948.

This FDJ chronicle contains many deeds that have become pages of GDR history. They tell of the reconstruction of the rail link between Rostock and Schwaan and of the "youth village," of the FDJ campaign, "Max Needs Water," and of the first central youth project, the construction of the Sosa "Peace Dam." They report on the youth shock brigades and the movement, "FDJ Members Onto the Tractors." They remind us of the tamers of Oderbruch and the builders of Eisenheuttenstadt. They describe the building of Trattendorf and Boxberg, the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine and Leuna II and KKW Nord. They tell of the drying up of Wiasche and Rhin-Havelluch, the FDJ student brigades, the "recreation-working camps," of the building of the Friendship Road and of "FDJ Initiative Berlin."

FDJ history is unthinkable without the youth brigades. They lent significant impulses to the development of socialist emulation. In 1959, the Nikolai Mamai youth complex brigade of the Bitterfeld Electrochemical Combine initiated the "work, study and live socialistically" movement.

Through the Eighth SED Congress, the FDJ succeeded in further inspiring youth with the elan for shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The FDJ's economic initiatives also always are ideological testing grounds. Steadfast cadres have grown up in our youth association who stand up as functionaries of the party, the state, the economy, in education, culture and science and, not last, in the NVA and the other armed organs.

For 30 years the youth association has been assuming the sponsorship for the armed forces in our country. It supports cadre selection and recruitment and helps organize socialist emulation for boosting the military collectives' fighting strength and coping with military equipment. Together with the GST, the FDJ prepares youth for the honorable duty to protect socialism.

In tense class struggle situations FDJ members have always proven their allegiance to socialism and their readiness to defend it with their lives. All attempts imperialism has made to force the GDR to its knees, soften it up ideologically and isolate it internationally, have failed. That this will always be so is something to which the FDJ is pledged today, too.

The GDR has always been a house of peace. Nothing like that can be said of its imperialist neighbor. Only recall the fact that, in 1950, more than 10,000 young peace fighters of the FRG, who had taken part in the Germany meeting in Berlin, were prevented from returning home and were harassed by Adenauer's police. One year later--in 1951, at the Third World Festival--FDJ members who had followed an invitation from the West Berlin Senat, were brutally beaten up because they had wanted to demonstrate their will to peace. On 11 May 1952, Philipp Mueller in Essen, 21 years old, for actively opposing FRG remilitarization, was shot by police on the open road. And so the history of the FDJ's peace campaign also tells us this: However much imperialist politicians may be talking about peace, what they do is very different.

Instilling socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in youth is properly underscored as a solid component of FDJ work. From the outset, the FDJ has helped youth get rid of nationalistic and chauvinistic influences and instructed it in terms of peace and international understanding. Thereby it soon acquired the respect and recognition of progressive youth in the world and became a solid component of the international democratic youth movement, the WFDY and the ISL. It has been in the forefront of the struggle for peace, friendship and anti-imperialist solidarity. A worthy contribution was made to it through sponsoring the Third and 10th World Festivals of Youth and Students in Berlin, the GDR capital, in 1951 and 1973 respectively. Also the large youth meetings in our country--the Germany meetings, the Friendship Festivals and the FDJ's organizational conference in 1979--always have been great peace demonstrations by youth.

The FDJ has developed friendly relations with the youth associations of socialist states, especially with the Leninist Comsomol.

As friendship with the Soviet Union was the acid test for truly revolutionary conduct to Ernst Thaelmann, the FDJ also, from the start, championed firm and indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union. Comsomol members in Soviet army uniform assisted the FDJ wherever possible.

Permanent foundations for FDJ-Comsomol friendship were laid in the summer of 1947 with the "peace flight to the East," an FDJ Central Council delegation headed by Erich Honecker. Many Leninist Comsomol experiences have been used in the FDJ. This alliance has become increasingly broader and more substantial.

The "FDJ History" confirms how much our youth association has become the representative of youth interests in all domains of life: in the study of Marxism-Leninism during the FDJ study year as in creating our unified socialist educational system, in appropriating the treasures of world culture and of our national legacy as in the cooperation with artists and creators of culture, in mastering science and technology as in the development of diversified cultural, touristic and--together with the German Gymnastic and Sports League of the GDR--also athletic leisure-time activities. The party mission to direct the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization is something the FDJ fulfils in honors.

A reader of the "FDJ History" is impressed as he senses the great attention and care the SED Central Committee, the Politburo and, above all, its general secretary, Erich Honecker, have always bestowed on the development of the socialist youth association.

There has been no event of historic rank in the history of the FDJ that would not have had something to do with the personal efforts of Comrade Erich Honecker. From 1945 to the founding of the FDJ, he headed the Central Antifascist Youth Commission and from 1946 to 1955 was the chairman of the FDJ Central Council. Later, as Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, he was directly responsible for the party's youth policy. As the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, Comrade Erich Honecker is intimately linked with our FDJ.

The "FDJ History" ends with the thought that "the firm unity between the party and the youth association is the best assurance for that youth will continue to cope with its tasks in the struggle for socialism and peace in the future as well." That is impressively demonstrated by the fact that many FDJ members wish to become SED candidates themselves.

The publication of this work is an important political event in the life of our association. It brings close to us our present socialist situation as the outcome of the revolutionary struggle by former and contemporary generations, and it boosts the pride of FDJ members about belonging to a tradition-rich revolutionary organization which has always stood by the side of the comrades and in the forefront of the struggle for socialism and peace and continues to give all it can for fulfilling the 10th SED Congress resolutions.

Our cordial thanks to the authors' collective headed by Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Jahnke for a work that found attentive and energetic support from the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee, to Neues Leben publishing house for the excellent make-up of the book, and to the "Voelkerfreundschaft" printing shop in Dresden.

5885

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IDEOLOGICAL DEMANDS ON TALENTED STUDENTS TO BE RELAXED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 65-66, 3 May 82 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Critique of Inadequate Encouragement of Young People Talented in Sciences." A translation of the East Berlin FORUM article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Renowned East Berlin economic scientist Professor Juergen Kuczynski has called inadequate the system for encouraging science students, as practiced in GDR universities. In the East Berlin student magazine FORUM (8/82), he wrote that increasing emphasis must be placed on the training of research and talented students so as to be a part of the scientific world standard. In doing so, the main effort in encouraging talented students must be exerted by the professors, who for various reasons are not pursuing this task in an adequate fashion. Among these reasons Kuczynski lists primarily the increasing stagnation of teaching programs in GDR institutions of higher education. Also, he says, "due to the students' immobility" the professors do not have the possibility of attracting those students from other universities whose talent has been proven in their science studies. Nor is there an opportunity to change universities so as to study under an outstandingly capable professor, which "severely limits" the natural selection of talented students. In this context, Kuczynski also criticizes exaggerated ideological demands made on talented students. It would be reasonable, he says, to expect "at least average performance" in political indoctrination of a talented student, just as is the case in other subjects which are not specifically related to his scientific work.

GDR Social Scientist's Critique

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 36 No 8, Apr 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Juergen Kuczynski, social scientist: "From Talented Students to Distinguished Scientists--The Development of Promotion of the Most Talented Students Since the Renaissance"]

[Text] The term "promotion of the most talented" is of course not applicable to former times; even today we have difficulty, in secondary schools as well as



in universities, to find the most talented for special promotion since it is by no means easy to describe criteria for the most talented. Particularly since the criteria must in part be entirely different for secondary schools, technical schools and universities. "Non-technical" criteria for instance must have much greater weight in secondary schools than in universities. This article will limit itself to promotion of the most talented students at universities; "most talented" will be understood to mean those who are most suitable for development of the sciences.

In 1981 our universities published a book which has many excellent chapters and which we should give to our most talented students as a prize: "Teachers and Scholars, Professors and Students: An Overview of German Universities and Institutions of Higher Education."

#### Renaissance

We find the following on page 23 of the book, concerning pre-renaissance days: "The standard curriculum in all general studies of the middle ages contained the same subjects which were based everywhere on the same authorities and their text books and which were taught in Latin in the same sequence and with the same methods." We do not know whether in those days there were "most talented students" at the universities; but if so, they were certainly not most talented students in the sciences under those conditions. The great teachers, those of theology and medicine of course, functioned outside the universities and attracted "disciples," true young scientists. Here we find truly outstanding students destined to become teachers themselves, scientific companions of their masters. In England this situation persisted into the renaissance, since the country's two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, remained stagnant and deteriorated. That is why the emerging bourgeoisie founded a "College for Merchants" in London, in which the most talented students were those who appeared most suited for the merchant's trade. The founder of this college, Thomas Gresham, was also the creator of London's stock exchange. In the following 17th century, which brought the flowering of English renaissance sciences, the country's great scholars were mostly located not at the universities, but rather in the academy, the Royal Society, which was frequently at loggerheads with the universities. They had their favorite students whom they encouraged in every possible way, especially if they taught at the universities without in any way influencing the character of those universities. Many of them had court or civil service positions; others were physicians or active merchants or worked for export and colonial trade companies, especially as mathematicians. Mathematics and the art of navigation were closely related in those days.

The universities did not play an important role during the German renaissance either. On page 30, the above-named book says quite correctly: "Among humanism's best representatives in those days were, as a rule, not only meditating scholars, but also individuals who were active in society, functioning as councilors in municipal offices and agencies or in principalities: as tradesmen, municipal councilors, university professors, belligerent theologians, or even specifically political activists who, with pen and sword, took part in the class struggles of an early citizens revolution." Artists



might have been added to the foregoing. Among all of them, university professors, and therefore universities, occupied a low rank order. At the universities, belligerent humanism was eclipsed by quarrelsome theology which contributed little to the development of science and humanism. Scholarly knowledge was often joined by petty fanaticism.

On page 45, our book once again very correctly characterizes the period which followed: "The German universities were firmly incorporated into the absolutist governed small states. Where formerly there were subsidized doctors of medieval general studies having the right to teach everywhere, there now were professors who were civil servants."

And they remained so during the age of enlightenment. We are right in praising the few progressive professors. But they were not characteristic of the universities' image. Leibniz was justified in thinking little of German universities and in considering the academies and "learned societies" as being the cradles of true science.

There could hardly be any question of most talented students and their promotion at the universities during all those centuries. However, there were some exciting or competent true scientists whom the students sought out to learn from.

#### The Golden Age of the German Bourgeoisie

All that was completely changed by the French Revolution and the subsequent greater self-confidence of the intelligentsia in Germany. There had seldom been such enthusiasm for true science at the universities on German soil as from 1789, the year of Schiller's great initial lecture, until the middle of the 19th century. Jena and Berlin were the first star universities; philosophy was the star science. But all social sciences thrived. And never in the history of mankind were as many brilliant speeches, documents and writings conceived and handed down to us by the most outstanding intellects of the country as during that period. Among the authors were Schiller and Fichte, Schelling and Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Henrik Steffens and many others. Partly based on the experience of the Greek academies, they developed guidelines for the operation of any university which today we unfortunately remember better in retrospect than in actual practice--such as the necessity for the unity of research and teaching or the necessity for the scientist, in today's terms, to establish a dialectic link between collective differences of opinion and solitude for meditation.

But even there we do not find any mention of promoting the most talented. Why should there be? There has of course always been support, sometimes accidental, of poor people, of school children who came to the attention of their priest, of young students who attracted attention because of their intelligence or their eagerness. But that was support for individual intelligent poor people and not promotion of the most talented. But if we consider promotion of the most talented as intellectual, rather than material encouragement, then it occurred almost automatically by way of the efforts of

university teachers to gain their best students as disciples for their thoughts and for their scientific concepts. And that was just about the way things remained at the German universities until the years of fascism.

This does not mean, of course, that this procedure always led to the selection of the most talented and capable. It amounted to promotion of the most talented from the professor's view. The students had to adhere to his scientific ideas and concepts and in general were not supposed to attract attention to themselves in a political sense. But a relationship similar to that between Plato and Aristotle was quite possible--after all, Aristotle did not found his own academy, with its own philosophical direction, until after Plato's death.

The exact location of encouragement for the most talented was of course not always the lecture, but rather the seminar, often a special seminar, to which only those gained admittance whom the professor considered to be the best. Such seminars or "exercises" also formed the nucleus of schools and science. The students considered themselves an elite among the developing scientists and stuck closely together, encouraged by the teacher in the classroom as well as by discussions among themselves.

The closeness of "student relationships" can be illustrated by an example from my own student days. When I was studying in Heidelberg, I saw myself as a Marxist in the field of political economics and therefore belonged to no established school of thought among the political economists. As a philosophy major however I was an enthusiastic student of neo-Kant professor Rickert, who was always at loggerheads with the other main philosophy teacher, Jaspers. When, for some reason that I do not recall, I was once invited to Jaspers' house for dinner, I wrote a detailed letter to my mother (this was during the worst part of the inflation period) that she must not think that I had turned my back on Rickert--that I had visited Jaspers only for the free food.

The strongest encouragement of the most talented students during the first third of the 20th century existed for students of the natural sciences in Goettingen and for students of the social sciences in Heidelberg, because a number of outstanding professors taught at these universities in their respective fields who attracted a significant number of talented young people from all parts of Germany. Anyone who wished to study at one particular university because of a certain professor became ipso facto a candidate for selection as a most talented student. But the final selection, e.g., for attendance at a special seminar, was made by the professor himself or by his senior assistant, who also was on the lookout for promising disciples for his teacher.

The end of university studies, lasting usually 4 years, rarely 3 and even more rarely 5, which culminated in the conferral of the doctorate, was the start of the real scientific career, either as an assistant or with a practical interim project.

## Our Promotion of the Most Talented

After a longer period during which we had to be mostly concerned with training the greatest possible number of scientists coming from all parts of the population, especially the working class, we must today increasingly emphasize the training of research and most talented students in order to have a part in setting the world standard in the sciences.

That is why it is so important that, following the Fifth Universities Conference, we pay special attention to this problem--specifically, to the problem of the professors who are responsible for the selection and promotion of the most talented students, as well as those students themselves. Today there are no more professors at our universities who, as students, experienced spontaneous promotion of the most talented at German universities prior to 1933. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable number of emeriti among us who made their influence felt after 1945 when our universities were not quite, to put it bluntly, stagnant. I myself have held special seminars at the Humboldt University, which included participants from elsewhere and where I surely learned as much as did the participants. We must note also that today we have a number of young professors who are trying to overcome the university management stereotype and who, if they are not too bogged down with all kinds of side functions, know how to attract the best among the students of their university into their circle. But the students' immobility makes it impossible to attract scientifically talented students from other universities. Nor is there an opportunity to change universities because of an individual professor's attractiveness, which severely limits a natural selection of most talented students--therefore also, to a certain extent, a timely identification of outstanding professors.

Our understanding of encouragement for the most talented primarily includes the opportunity for students to devote themselves, after a few normal years of study, to a longer period of study under better financial circumstances and without being limited by the standard science curriculum and to conduct research leading to the completion of their doctoral thesis. The few doctoral theses by research and most talented students which I have seen to date, are not of a higher scientific level than were the best dissertations prior to 1933, measured only by the accumulation of material and original thinking. This despite the fact that the recipients of doctoral degrees prior to 1933 were mostly younger than our research and most talented students. The reason for this may well be the support they had, as well as their selection.

What do we ask of a most talented student in the social sciences? Primarily and to begin with, scientific talent and scientific enthusiasm as well as a deep understanding of historic materialism. Without a real in-depth understanding of historic materialism we can comprehend neither the Arabic culture of the 11th century nor the present-day policies of multi-national conglomerates. But if a student has not yet obtained a "B" grade in his knowledge of the workers' movement, I find this regrettable--but this should under no circumstances prevent a professor who teaches feudal agriculture or ancient Greek philosophy or classical music from selecting him as a most

talented student. We should ask of a most talented student in those subjects which we call societal work that he should make at least average grades, just as he should do so in other subjects not directly connected with his science studies--such as for instance ethics--except of course work ethics, in which he must be outstanding.

All that does not mean that the most talented student does not have a societal task. He certainly does have one--it is a very serious one and by no means easy. It is the following: to try enthusiastically to advance science a small step in the interest of our country and to motivate his fellow students, most talented or not, to work toward the same goal.

In FORUM 3/82 there was an article entitled "Are the Most Talented Students Geniuses?" The answer was correctly negative and we should indeed be gratified if the majority is indeed possessed of talent.

If we want to raise the level of scientific achievement at our universities, we must see to it that talented students are converted to talented scientists, using the FDJ's help also. Support for most talented students by the FDJ does not primarily consist of giving them organizational functions, but rather to support their attempts at promoting a lively interest in scientific work. But the major obstacle to our most talented students consists of the professors who for a variety of reasons are not equal to the task.

At the 1908 SPD party congress in Nuremberg, Rosa Luxemburg talked about the central party school and said: "I could hardly ask for a better elite corps than its students." We too must do everything within our power to enable our party and state leadership to talk within the foreseeable future of our most talented students as an elite corps of the sciences.

9273

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## LETTERS TO EDITOR DISCUSS CONTROVERSIES IN EDUCATION

## Erroneous Cadre Policy

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Antoni Kuzdro, director emeritus of the Center for Continuing Education: "The Sources of Crisis in Education"]

[Text] Education experts feel that the main cause for inefficiency in education services in our country is their overly small share of the distribution of the national income intended for a base and personal services for teachers. They also point out the defective structure of schools, incompetent teaching programs and others.

In the light of such a diagnosis given by experts, it is not possible to explain the high standard of work in all schools right after World War II when budgetary outlays for education and teaching were much lower than currently, the school base was totally destroyed while few teachers found themselves at the bottom of the wage scale. Not negating a certain influence of the most frequently given reasons for the illness of our education and teaching, I wish to present other, more important ones which are not talked about officially. These are: erroneous cadre policy in relation to all executive posts in education; the lack of proper selection of candidates for the teaching profession; poor preparation by colleges of young teachers for the job of teaching and a complete lack of preparation for the work involved in upbringing; detrimentally liberalizing normative acts issued by education authorities as well as thoughtless structural-programmatic reforms of the school system.

The erroneous cadre policy created much damage to our educational system. Actually, there was no rational cadre policy; most of the nominations for executive posts were and are by chance resulting from all sorts of arrangements and passes without taking into account appropriate predispositions and qualifications for the fulfillment of such important functions. Selective action, training and preparation of candidates for executive positions was not being conducted. That is why we had and still have so many incompetent principals, inspectors, visitors and even superintendents who achieve the kind of results from teaching-upbringing activity which we have at present because a poor principal always indicates



a poor school. A pseudoprincipal is capable of destroying the best teaching staff and disrupting the good working atmosphere of the team. Within the school building, where the school which I directed for 30 years was situated; i.e., from the time of its founding until my retirement, there was another school for youth. During the past 30 years, 8 principals have been replaced in this school including: 2 who were dismissed on disciplinary grounds, 3 were dismissed for creating organizational havoc; only the first and third ones, principals by true calling, raised the school to a high standard and advanced to a leading position in the school district. After their departure, their successors destroyed the entire input of the school and, in particular, a staff of marvelous teachers and the financial base.

It is a great shame that in the selection of executive cadres, the principle of successive promotion, which has been proven by experience: outstanding teacher--vice principal, principal, inspector, visitor, superintendent--has been abandoned.

In the United States, the social position of teachers is not high; on the wage scale, it occupies a similar position to ours and yet, the selection for this profession is exceptional. Teaching candidates are required to have the highest I.Q. ranking before entering the various fields of education. Upon completion of a difficult program of studies, the young teacher goes through a 2-year period of student teaching in a school under the guidance of experienced teachers; he then takes a qualifying exam and not until then does he receive the license of a qualified teacher.

In Poland, there is no selection of candidates. Teaching studies [education programs] are taken up by those who did not do well on entrance examinations for other fields of study or who do not feel strong enough to study fields other than teaching. With small exceptions, the weakest material comes to the teaching profession which is evident in school performance. Neglecting to check the predisposition of candidates for teaching before they begin their studies makes it very difficult for colleges to prepare teachers properly for teaching and upbringing activity. Education programs in colleges do not keep pace with life, and the standard of teaching in colleges has become considerably lower; academic titles can not replace knowledge. If preparing teachers for the job of teaching can be presently considered as average and weak, depending on the particular college, then knowledge of upbringing [educational] methods is totally foreign to young teachers.

It is commonly believed that lessons of upbringing, assemblies and school festivities take care of the upbringing process in school. This is a fundamental error in the work of a school. The educational process should last throughout each day after crossing the school threshold through the positive example of all school employees beginning with the custodian and ending with the principal; through efficient lesson organization; by conducting all planned lessons, by maintaining a high standard of lectures as well as by exemplary discipline in the work of teachers and students.



Can an educational talk on the subject of a sense of responsibility bring out effective reflections in the students if the teacher in charge is chronically late for class, if he is not prepared for his lessons, if he often misses his classes and is the cause of disorganization in the life of the school?

In the past 20-year period, education authorities have not helped the schools in obtaining better teaching results. Succeeding normative acts liberalized school requirements regarded for the students in a manner which was contrary to logic. Among these were: the elimination of class repetition as a result of the possibility of being promoted with failing grades; the introduction of the system of repeat exams at all grade levels including the secondary schools and the elimination of the secondary school final from the requirements for secondary school completion and lowering the standard of this most important exam of life to a minimum level of difficulty. The purpose of these harmful decisions on the part of the education authorities was to improve the statistics for educational effectiveness.

In accounting for the succeeding, thoughtless and unsuccessful structural-programmatic school reforms, it should be stated that they started our educational crisis. From the point of view of the 36 years of activity of our school system, it turns out that the best organizational form for schools was the one with which we started after World War II. The introduction, later, of a 4-year general high school and a 5-year technical high school upon the framework of elementary school was the first mistake. Even prolonging elementary school by 1 year did not improve the situation. One of the last examples of thoughtless reform was the establishment of a 3-year vocational high school upon the foundations of elementary school. All of this took place under the slogan: "every worker with a high school education"...but what kind of an education? The case of extension high school [secondary school] final examinations is a sad one. It was the 1960's and a substantial portion of middle and high posts in the entire national economy were occupied by people without an education [high school]. Although, there was an appropriate number of available places in schools for working people at all levels and from all lines of work, the taking of high school final examinations on an extension basis was allowed in masses. This mass production of high school graduates lasted for several years and in several school districts, it turned into specific affairs.

In 1972, despite the total saturation of industry with the middle technical cadre, 2-year technical high schools, so-called, "gierkowski" [named for Gierok] were instituted in all voivodships for the top workers. In reality, those who attended these schools were young people who fulfilled party functions in their places of employment and who could have studied in regular schools for working persons.

These were exclusive, totally unnecessary schools and, at the same time, the most expensive schools not only in Poland but in the world. Aside from expenses for their [school] upkeep, each attending student was given a 7-year leave of absence from work, receiving full wages at this time, which amounted to 12,000 or so zlotys per month. All of this took place at the time when several million annuitants, war invalids and pensioners vegetated under pension conditions of 1,500-2,500 zlotys. These schools operated for 9 years.

It is possible to cite many other examples of the improper functioning of our educational system, for example, the disturbing fact that a considerable portion of schools and colleges, instead of properly fulfilling their upbringing function become places of personal strife, intrigues, division and cliques. Under conditions of complete centralization and control, the school has become a bureaucratic, routinized and dehumanized institution. The statistics of points and evaluations have overshadowed the real purpose and meaning of school functioning--the shaping of human personality.

The teaching profession does not occupy a prominent social position in any country of the world. Its social rank and authority and respect cannot be set by an administrative order, a teacher's charter or a jubilee award for, so-called, exceptional work. True professional satisfaction, recognition and gratitude come not from the authorities but from the object of the teacher's efforts--the pupil of student. If we find a trace of our positive personality in the behavior and life's attitudes of our pupils in school and following its completion, then this means that we have achieved our mission, our goal and the greatest satisfaction.

#### Secondary School Entrance Examinations

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 8, 10 Apr 82 p 6

[Article by Dr Stanislaw Jarmul of the Collective Gmina School in Radzyn Podlaski: "Against Examinations"]

[Text] I read with attention the article by Lechoslaw Gawrecki (POLITYKA 4), in which the author comes out decidedly against entrance examinations to secondary schools.

The matter of entrance examinations to secondary schools should be viewed, however, from a different side. In our school system, very liberal classification and promotional regulations were in force for many years. In the first through fourth grades of elementary school, students were promoted to higher grades regardless of the number of failing grades. In grades five through eight, students were promoted with two and even three failing marks. Entrance exams to secondary schools were eliminated, classification in secondary schools was very liberal and a series of simplifications for secondary school certificate examinations were put into practice.

In this way, we have accustomed students and parents to the obtainment of grade promotions without any effort on the part of the student while schools were evaluated on the basis of the number of students promoted. The result of these practices and simplifications is lamentable. Already from the first grade on, the pupil was promoted without putting in any work. For the first four years, he was promoted regardless of his grades. In grades five to eight, it was already difficult to mobilize and force the student to work while great deficiencies from the earliest grades made the proper mastery of program material impossible in higher grades of elementary school and later in secondary school.

After finishing school, a young person, who was graded and promoted in this way for a number of years, was surprised when he started working that there exists in this world something like responsibilities and demands. In this way, school which was supposed to prepare for life, demoralized instead of teaching by employing various simplifying methods, by waiving requirements and handing out certificates [diplomas] without any work effort from the student. Without the active participation of the student, the most competent teacher cannot assure the proper standard in school. Among factors which contributed to the limiting of student participation in the process of acquiring knowledge were also very liberal classification and promotional regulations. Why should a student feel that he must study when he will be promoted anyway. Only schools were concerned about promotions because they were held accountable for the number of promotions.

There exists a view that such a situation demoralized teachers as well. What sense was there in conscientious work when regardless of the student's performance, they all had to be promoted anyway.

Competition for admission to secondary school on the basis of school records also lost all of its value. There were also instances where schools which gave students a poorer educational preparation--gave out better report cards.

Words of recognition should be directed towards the minister of education and upbringing for introducing a new classification code, which disallows the promotion of a student with unsatisfactory grades and for issuing an order regarding examinations to secondary schools. In order to receive a favorable grade, the student should pay for it with genuine effort and this should continue from the first day in school. In an atmosphere of well organized teacher and student work and with far reaching goodwill towards the student, there is also room for constantly growing requirements. School in Poland, up to now, was in practice, school without any requirements and this gave rise to the well-known, negative teaching and upbringing results.

9853

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INCREASE IN YOUTH ECONOMIC, SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES DISCUSSED

Youth Cooperatives Deemed Necessary

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by W. Mickiewicz, A. Sliwinski: "A Look at Opportunities"]

[Text] For some time, we have been referring to the young generation. What is the "young generation"? For some, it means only cub scouts, scouts and students, for others, first of all, the many millions of industrial workers.

It seems that such a varied handling of the subject, the throwing into one kettle of completely different types of interests and needs, does not allow a clear perception or definition of anything.

I.

We propose, therefore, the following definition of "young generation": the generation comprising those born in the postwar baby boom, and those near them in age, who are just entering the world of work. A generation defined in this way, comprised of those who are currently 18-35 years old, constitutes over half of those employed in the socialized economy, and together with their families, the clear majority of society.

This generation is already determining the fate of Poland. They form the majority of Poles enjoying in full the rights of citizenship.

But this quantitative factor is not the only reason that this generation is determining the present shape of the country. This can be stated for the following reasons, among others:

--they constitute a definite majority among those employed in key, large industries, and in the most modern industries, mainly in those created in the last 15 years;

--large industries, which have a strong influence on events in the country's political arena, determine the political role of the labor force of these types of enterprises. The ideologists call this the "large-industry working class";

--this generation is dominated by a feeling of frustration, loss of prospects for determining the shape of one's own life, and the life of the country. This is a generation many of whom have revolted and which, through its activity in Solidarity, knows its power to destroy;

--it is characterized by a great mass of everyday problems and in long-term process of education and international contacts, it "obtained" aspirations relative to at least the average expectations of the citizens of the most developed countries.

Objectively, then, through whatever part in work life, through mass response and activity, it dictates the rhythm of life in Poland. This element, demographic and political, does not find--in our opinion--its appropriate role in organizations and institutions of public life, and in planning, directing and governing institutions. For these institutions, the young generation is one of the problems, a problem not more closely defined than the "youth problem." However, we are convinced that it is the foremost problem of today's Poland.

This large number of citizens does not have a proportional standing in the system of organizations and institutions. It constitutes only about 20 percent of the party and, therefore, cannot play anything but a "youth" role. It simply cannot do more, not by virtue of merit, knowledge or political ability, nor regarding electoral mechanisms. The situation in the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party has developed, similar to that in the party, or even more so, to the disadvantage of the young generation. This immediately influenced the composition of deputies and delegates and of the administrating and directing staffs.

Often, complaints about the insufficient consideration of the political problems of the young generation are addressed to the youth movement. In our opinion, this is to put the burden of responsibility on those who have not been prepared to cope with it. The problems of the "young generation" (in our meaning of the term) go beyond, in all respects, the abilities of the youth movement. This is not even to mention that in the 1970's the youth movement was treated not as a mouthpiece of the trends determining the fate of present-day and future Poland, but as a representative of imprecisely defined goals of education.

11.

The political system, and the socioeconomic system, belatedly reacted to the coming of age of the postwar generation. It came to where those coming of age began to produce their own "boom" until all the goals of life and work of more than half the population converged. In addition, all this led to a regression in production and to a lowering of the standard of living. As is known, this crisis touches all Poles. And this "clouds the demographic



aspect" of the present situation of the country. It may again lead to a situation where the problems of this generation will be seen--as they have been up to now--in a "youthful" light.

If, then, by their numbers and their place in giant industries, and as a result of their having rebelled, the young generation has come into the forefront of the country's political life, if they have even more strongly outlined their most pressing problems--those of an apartment, food, education of children--then you cannot offer NOTHING to this generation.

The idea of "offering the young generation a program," some program specially prepared for it, calls to mind the ideas of "help for Poland." While it is true that this help may ease our burden, the real and final solution to Polish matters lies only in Poland. The young generation must work itself up, make up for mistakes and liabilities--it must GET TO WORK.

If so, then the next problem arises: whether the system of mechanisms and institutions which thus far have not been able to utilize the potential energy contained in the "demographic bomb", to use its explosive force constructively, can now (by merely "making youth aware of the problem") accept the pressure of the material and social needs and the pressure of supplying job opportunities.

In our opinion, to rise to this particular situation, the existing political, social and economic systems require modification. It is precisely this specific Polish demographic and political factor of the present crisis that demands such modification.

We feel that the discussion before the Ninth Plenum on the subject of the young generation should make the proposals in this area more concrete.

### III.

The line of the proposals should, in our opinion, take into consideration all the realities: on one hand, the continuing crisis and economic lethargy, the bitterness and mistrust of many citizens of People's Poland, and the ideological and political restraint which was created in her by the conscious experience of four crises, i.e., in 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980. Among these realities, requiring inclusion is that of the young generation's high consumer aspirations. On the other hand, the proposals should be directed toward unleashing the potential and strengths of these many millions of people, strengths springing from the very need to solve the problems of everyday life. Further, the proposed way of solving these problems should create possibilities of utilizing the adaptive abilities and high level of education of youth. Also, anything economic reform can offer demands consideration. Thus, above all, the ability of obtaining from the state a certain distance in particular local problems, which, relieving the state of some of its responsibility, will make it possible to more broadly assume the creation of further regulations which will encourage young people to take responsibility for their own fate, to reduce their expectations from the state, and more.



This line of thought can be described most briefly as follows: If today and in the next 3-4 years, our country remains burdened by debts and by a dependence on highly developed capitalist countries, a dependence putting the brakes on the economy, if inside the country it becomes necessary to break the economic structures so as to reshape them to fit social needs, if it becomes necessary to "squeeze" all the reserves left, and, above all, if it becomes necessary to establish the links of processing with our own soil and with our own raw-material base, to reestablish the bonds which were broken because of the permissive political activity conducted earlier--the necessity (besides the existing organizational and technological structures, besides the existing rules of industriousness) of creating conditions for the establishment and development of new economic initiatives, initiatives originating from the "bottom," demands consideration.

Thus, it would be possible, by utilizing one's own knowledge and education, and acting under the pressure of poverty and unemployment, to organize for filling the economic gaps and for utilizing reserves through the initiative and mobility which young people can show. The point is the possibility of uniting, and creating cooperatives and enterprises with a "liquid property," that is, the kind of property in whose growth the state would participate to an increasingly large degree until at a certain level, the state would assume it altogether.

A Poland of "giants," which until recently was to be the vision of the country, the vision of the future for a generation, is sometimes replaced by a Poland of agency stores and of small private shops. Just as the first Poland did not reckon with the complicated needs and limited possibilities of the country, the second is not dealing completely with the needs of today's Poland. Notice only that this picture of Poland, becoming fixed in the minds of a large part of our countrymen, coincides with the processes of concentration of capital, and the creation of large firms combining science, technology and production.

#### IV.

Throwing out the view of a Poland of giants as well as a Poland of small stores and workshops, we are for a political system making possible a coming together in cooperatives, for a political system enabling the young to create new enterprises, in whose development the state would participate.

Creating practical opportunities for the young to take their fate into their own hands is, in our opinion, a possible way of stimulating the economy and, at the same time, of utilizing those "thrown out," those "from the lost generation." There is also, we think, a possible "transformation" of the hopelessness into which part of the young generation has fallen (and which, at any cost, it wants to overcome, for example, through emigration), into activity, into a fight to pull the country from the crisis. It is possible, but under the condition that this activity will be directly for one's own needs and those of society.

Will the young generation walk along this road and will it be able to?

The example of creating apartment construction cooperatives indicates that taking matters of one's own economic life into one's own hands is not a foreign concept to this generation. Not only by abandoning the country does it try to solve the problems of its economic life. After all, not only questions of apartments, but of many different problems, for example, employment, attainment of a high standard of living, etc., can be solved with the help of similar regulations.

This requires, as we have already stressed, besides the ways of self-realization existing to date, besides utilization of the potential found in existing enterprises, in existing production cycles, creation of new ways of absorbing economic activity. This is related to the need to consider the advisability of creating new institutions and regulations, for example, banks: a Bank for the Activation of Production for cities in place of, or in addition to the funds for requalification for those who are to undergo reductions; a Bank for the Economic Use of the Land--for agriculture, etc.

Clearly necessary would be the matter of giving this type of undertaking a legal form. And this, in turn, requires political strength. This strength one can imagine through acceptance and consistent use of the law of "parity," a law which would guarantee the appropriate percentage of young people participating in the party, in electoral organs of the state authorities and in the administration at all levels. This is a mechanical approach. After all, 20-30 percent of the deputies to the Sejm, of the delegates of the People's Councils, in party authorities, or directors in the 30-year age group, will not in itself, solve or arrange anything. Still, if this is combined with the creation of an appropriate commission of the Sejm, with the support, in all this, of the already operating Commission for Youth Affairs of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, if this is linked with the activity of the entire youth movement, then the desired effects would be obtained.

This way of thinking about solving the problems of the young generation, closely linked with overcoming the crisis, demands wider ideological reflection and political consideration, and foreseeing the effects in the area of ownership, in the area of social interests and relationships.

In our opinion, this may give a new impulse, a way of moving the huge mass of society into processes of activation and economy, may give an opportunity--as there was at the beginning of People's Poland--for millions of people to take their fate into their own hands, on the basis of conditions created by the political program of the party through a socialist state.

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This is, of course, only an attempt at presenting the problem, not a formula for solving it. But whether a solution for a problem is found at all depends on how that problem is presented. In our thinking, there are two basic assumptions. First, in the present political and economic situation of Poland, and in her characteristic demographic structure, we cannot GIVE

NOTHING to the young generation. The second assumption is the creation of regulations which enable (through utilizing reserves and filling in the gaps in the economy) one to take on his own shoulders the fight for his own economic well-being, and that of the national economy--on his account and his responsibility, but not through the little agency store and private workshop. For many millions of young adult Poles, a solution along these lines does not exist. This may be a way for some number of individuals, but not for the huge, multimillion-member army of people.

#### Employment Reform Considered Crucial

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "The Eroded 'Golden Means'"]

[Text] In the last issue of "Standard of the Young", an interesting article by W. Mickiewicz and A. Sliwinski appeared entitled "A Look at Opportunities." The majority of arguments, both in the area of analysis and of evaluation, must elicit approval. It is different, however, with concrete attempts at solving the problem of motivating young people in work for the country, pulling them out of their sluggishness and lack of initiative.

The authors propose to the young the "creation of new enterprises, in which the state would participate," which would be units with so-called "liquid property, that is, property in whose growth the state would participate to an increasingly large degree, until, at a certain level, the state would assume it altogether."

My comments on this proposition are twofold: detailed and systemic. As for the first, it seems to me doubtful that it would pay someone to commit his own work, capital and abilities, and then at a certain stage of his firm's development, to risk having it nationalized, it seems to me that in the case of such development, the firm's founders would do everything possible to maintain the private business. Psychologically, this is only natural.

From this comes the second comment. I am opposed to small concessions and to a "transitional" political economy. It does bring out the resourcefulness in people and fills the gaps in the market, but it is not this type of upstart of middle-class mentality that socialism is about. We do not raise, educate and try to persuade youth toward certain ideological and moral principles, just to propose to them officially this type of solution--even in a crisis.

Several formal and psychological barriers exist in today's socioeconomic situation. For years, youth was fed slogans, promises, big productions and proclamations. Coming face to face with reality, becoming independent, was a profound shock--doing differed so greatly from words.

This disparity caused a very severe crisis of trust among the young, a crisis concerning not only the relationships between the authorities and society, but concerning all areas of life, where older people run things and younger people work. There has been increasing talk about a situation similar to a "conflict of generations," which should not occur in Poland. The symptoms, after all, do exist and closing one's eyes to them will not make the causes of the phenomenon go away.

### Barriers

We have never before had a young cadre so carefully educated as now. There are 50,000 graduates of higher schools annually; millions have finished some kind of school, and 8 years of general education is mandatory. Despite the educational disproportions, despite the unevenness with which they start life, people today, as in the 1970's, are incomparably more carefully prepared for an independent start than those who rebuilt Poland.

Even during studies, students of technical high schools have been told of "directing people," and future engineers about "the officers of production." A young "changing of the guard" was talked about--that the country need the young, that it was waiting.

However, after finishing studies, life spitefully showed its tongue. True, there was work but given begrudgingly. Great projects awaited, but the positions in them were largely taken. And everywhere only your "paper" counted for getting in, and only then your "work experience." Neither work, nor talent, nor conscience determined wages and reclassification. What did determine and still determines, are the pay schedules. Their base is the fictitious "work experience."

### People Born in 1939

The older generation earned its status in conditions different from those at present. People born in 1939 were overcome with the enthusiasm of the first decade of reconstruction and industrialization--the practical success of real socialism. That was the only example in our history when propaganda slogans were in accord with the real needs of the country and the interests of the majority of the young generation of that time. Then the slogan was "social advance," mainly through migration from villages to cities, and also through the requirements of education.

The destroyed, redeveloping country ached for a cadre with any kind of education, and, if not that, then at least with practical abilities. Migration of millions to the cities created there a working class of the first generation for which this was a historical, cultural, and educational advance. And the advance was real, was realized. They waded through it with almost savage toil, in a fight with completely unknown ways of work, in a personal fight to remain in this new, difficult, but attractive world.

Torn from their roots, from rural culture and traditions, they took on everything in the city quickly and superficially. But after years, they created a new society, with peasant hardness and steadfastness in the fight for one's own, and also one promising their children the further right to their own status and a start from the level to which their parents worked up, just as in the village.

#### Entrenched in Positions

Socialism without crisis, without conflict, egalitarian, was to guarantee mainly stability. And although many times publicists scoffed at our new city dweller, he worked hard at a formal and legal assurance of his economic well-being.

To that end, two emotionally colored ideas were conceived: fluctuation, something bad, and work experience, something good.

The obvious results emerged: young people mainly fluctuate. In a system where pay and the standard of living depends mainly on the number of years of work, and advances of 200-300 zloty occur almost automatically once every 2 years, the young worker would have to work 10 years to obtain 2,000 to 3,000 zlotys more in pay. And that is at all work levels, and also in piecework, where experience affects pay, where additional pay for years of service allows older people to observe with sympathy the young working hard to earn as much as they do during a standstill.

Young people thus often change work mainly to obtain a considerable raise in transferring. This is their only change of quickly obtaining a life style similar to that which was promised them in the process of education. All the better ones are bought crudely.

But does it pay to work to a certain time. You have to pass the magic 10 years, so you do not lose your vacation time, and so your sick leave is paid in full. Later, benefits accrue for service, and status automatically begins to rise. Then, you look with a different eye at those who exceed the norms, who want reform, change improvement. Every change threatens what has been already gained, and the older a person is, the less he desires reforms.

From this, every new pay schedule or group contract is filled with conditions rewarding work experience. At present, it is involved in all reclassification to higher positions. The rule of seniority, however, assures the removal from reclassification of those with fluctuation, those from the outside. This leads to the continuation of schemes and cliques--it's known that you can always make a deal with your own.

A formal and legal system programmed in this way guarantees a maximum retention of positions gained, guaranteed status and little stability. A system programmed in this way also is directed mainly, and almost exclusively, against youth--it puts them "in their place", it beats out of their hot heads most of the fantasies which were promised them in school, home, college.



What is this opportunity?

Again, unfortunately, it is necessary to look to examples from the highly developed countries. Not entirely, of course. Not in matters of unemployment, in inequalities in systems and fortunes, but in the way the cadre manages in a truly modern industry.

The most efficient Western enterprises, in their activity, and in their competitiveness, are programmed internally for constant change. Some even have positions of assistants to directors for change and modernization.

Personnel workers, who come under such directors, perform completely differently than in Poland. They devote almost all of their time to improving and doing dynamic evaluations based on scientific systems of research and criteria. They register not only scientific and research, achievements and improvements not only reward people for them, but search for "holes in the works." Even the smallest irregularity is subjected to analysis, to a "brainstorm" for improving the process of production. The person who does this is immediately caught, trained, improved, made more independent and utilized further.

And neither a paper nor a diploma counts here, but abilities and talent. In Japan, for example, individual plants with the most talented workers train people on the premises and advance them to the highest positions. But only insofar as the credentials given them are good in the given concern only--in the case of a job change, they start from scratch. A different plant may not honor their qualifications. But that too is only theory. Every firm will hire away a really skilled worker from the competition. Then, even assurance against fluctuation does not account for much.

In regard to the most useful group of employees, fluctuation is considered a desirable asset. The United States especially is famous for hiring the most famous European specialists. In this case, the more firms you have worked for, the better you are considered, and the greater your worth to the next firm.

With workers it is different. Every industry wants to keep them for themselves as long as possible. And not only by offering higher wages. That depends mainly on the quality of work. What keeps them is housing built with the help of the firm, social benefits, etc., and finally, changes in the organization of production. The Swedes, for example, to avoid a decline in quality and efficiency on the production line, introduced a "star" system, where every worker does, not one or two, but dozens of jobs. Then he is, to a greater degree, the maker of the whole product, and he also is less bored from standing in one place.

Of course, humanitarian concerns are not the motive for this process. The point is maximum profit, optimal utilization of human resource, its potential, talent. That is why in the West today, the problem of unemployment of 50-year-olds is occurring. They have been exploited, and now they can be cast aside. There is also the fact that in exactly



this kind of system, without slogans of "great opportunities," the highest paid positions, highest wages and standard of living are obtained at age 30-40. Thirty-year-old administrators, department heads and directors of firms in their twenties, are nothing unusual. This is a utilization of a simple phenomenon: at this age a person is physically and mentally most effective.

Scrap the Old?

Certainly not. The socialist system should differ from the capitalist system in practice by the lack of an exploitative relationship of the economy to the worker. That is the way it is today. Not only does it not exploit him, but it does not even use him to the fullest. Thanks to an almost feudal, formal relationship to the young, beginning workers, in Poland you cannot become a master more quickly than by going through the long period of apprenticeship and journeyman training. You cannot become one of the independent people living from payday to payday without problems with their own apartment, television and automatic washer.

In speaking about the situation of youth, we should, in my opinion, aim at a general change of our labor legislation. The requirements of work experience, when making any kind of decision about advancement or reclassification, must be completely done away with. Measureable results of work, the financial picture of the enterprise or institution, and mainly the talents and potential of the worker should determine these matters.

The system of filling the higher positions should be based on professional competence and on... ideological ability. Yes, on ideological ability, on the ability to translate the rules of socialist humanism into the language of the everyday worker's reality. Our socialism depends in practice on the lowest rungs of management, on the interpretation of bosses, directors, managers, and self-governing bodies. It is based on the division of produced goods according to the rule that the one deserving of them is the person who needs them the most, who has the least and who works well at his position. A socialist director pays through the nose for an engineer; inventors do the same for a good manager. A good, much lower paid worker will be sent with his family to Złote Piaski at the firm's expense, a place in the nursery will be given to the baby of a single mother, and company housing will be given to young people with few assets.

The higher paid workers should be able to afford paying for their standard of living, their wider choice of consumer goods while the others should be afforded the feeling of human dignity, the conviction that what belongs to the firm is theirs because it comes from their work.

Revoking the idea of "work experience" will give young people, I am convinced, real possibilities for a start in life. This will change the structure of wages. The highest wages will come in the most productive part of life. In an economy based, after the reform, on laws of the marketplace, young, able workers will replace the administrative personnel themselves, that is, if they are better.

And what about the older workers?

Here a system of legal protection, insuring mainly against layoffs, but not against a lowering of wages, will have to come into operation. In our system, we cannot allow the release of older people who have worked long and hard. But higher pay for poorer work is also immoral.

I see here great potential in an appropriately designed pension-annuity system. Pensions above all should be calculated and reevaluated relative to the current average wage. By basing pensions on the two highest annual real wages, retirement for older people will improve their social status. When someone was an important director for several years, and later his earnings were considerably lower, the pension should have today's purchasing power. In this situation retirement means a very obvious economic improvement. In such a case, the saying "he worked for a well-deserved rest" regains its real sense. At the same time, this will free older, tired people from their tight hold on, an blocking of, positions. Of course, this will occur only when the amount of pensions will be, not two-thirds of the wages, but eight-tenths or 100 percent.

#### The Eroding "Golden Mean"

Much is said about youth in times of crisis. Much also is done for them: the much advertised loans for young married couples, coupons for basic goods, priority on waiting lists for cooperative apartments and youth patronage for apartment construction. The hard work of administration, the tons of propaganda publications and... things are getting worse and worse. Today, the dramatic effort to build 200,000 apartments in 1982 continues. At this pace, it is frightening to think of the prospects for the waiting millions and their offspring because there is no restriction on having children. This reminds one of trying to prop up a falling building with sticks.

I think that the time has arrived for a systemic changes, for changes in thinking, which are all the easier because they will begin with the revolution in social thinking which economic reform will bring about.

Because of investment in heavy industry, mechanization, etc., agriculture was consistently short of resources. For the sake of production, education and health care were stifled. To avoid a reluctance to work by the most productive and highest placed people, age 40-50, the whole sphere of interests of the coming generations were covered by propaganda. Holes were quickly patched up when there was a threat of an outburst or when one already had occurred. There was not enough imagination for systemic changes.

Arrangement of matters of advancement, the realization of a start for the best workers--not only for the youngest--will give youth opportunities. If what psychologists say is true, if courage aggressiveness, competence and energy really are traits of the young, if young people are better

prepared professionally than older people, they will manage, based on the elimination of legal barriers to their advancement, the scores of barriers to their self-sufficiency, for example, in private construction or in the work of youth construction unions, of restrictions against acquiring material and equipment. If self-sufficiency is allowed, initiative will be spurred and it will be possible to solve much more quickly and much less expensively these problems, which on a large scale, seem insoluble.

Under capitalism, one speaks with hatred of hyenas who make fortunes mainly during periods of crisis. These are most often speculators, cheaters and frauds.

You might think that the young, the ones who are the least responsible for our crisis are gaining the most. Let us free their initiative in their own affairs and in the way they manage their lives here and now.

More than half of those working in the socialist economy are young. If they really help each other, we all gain.

It seems to me still that the further use of a social and economic "golden mean" is impossible. It has eroded.

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# SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES RELIGION AMONG YOUTH

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 28 Apr 82 pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr Ion Mihail Popescu, Bucharest Sociology Center, by Florian Popa-Micsan]

[Text] [Question] You are the head of a collective at the Sociology Center that has made an extensive study of the religious phenomenon under present conditions. What were your objectives?

[Answer] Thorough knowledge of the religious phenomenon and its most accurate measurement in order to efficiently combat obscurantism, mysticism and religious fanaticism; clarification of some psychosocial mechanisms of the attitudes, behavior and religious convictions; and formulation of suggestions for reinforcing atheist education, especially among youth.

[Question] In what areas and localities did you make the study?

[Answer] In more than 150 localities in Maramures, Satu-Mare, Bihor, Prahova, Brasov, Meant, Tulcea, Salaj, Gorj, Giurgiu, Calarasi, Caras-Severin and Bistrita-Nasaud counties and in the Ilfov agricultural region. The research teams were composed of teachers and researchers from Bucharest University and of students in the Philosophy and History Section of the Department of Philosophy and History and, in addition to them, party and state activists in every county as well as teachers and specialists in various fields in the areas and localities studied. The selective survey based on a questionnaire covered over 12,000 informants (youths between 17 and 37 years) chosen according to criteria which you of course know. The data were collected and partly processed between 1975 and 1981, during the students' practical experience included in the education plans, so that research, education and social-political experience were suitably integrated.

[Question] A study of the religious phenomenon is a difficult undertaking. A wide variety of research methods and techniques must be used. How was your investigation distinguished in this respect?

[Answer] Perhaps by the use of a composite and pluralistic methodological program wherein every technique (from observation techniques to content analysis) is given an

equal methodological value so that the information acquired by one procedure can be checked and compared with that obtained by another in order to make the conclusions as reliable as possible in the last analysis.

Question It goes without saying that it is not enough to study the believer's psychology alone in order to determine the socioeconomic causes of religious belief? What have you actually discovered by your investigation of the religious phenomenon?

Answer Significant decreases in the number of believers in the "traditional" religions, especially the Orthodox, Roman-Catholic, Mohammedan, Judaic and Armeno-Gregorian religions and the Ancient Rite, less significant decreases in the number of members of the Protestant denominations (Reformed, Evangelical CA [expansion unknown], Evangelical SP [expansion unknown] and Unitarian), and significant increases in the number of members of the neo-Protestant denominations (Baptist, Seventh-Day Adventist, Christian According to the Gospel, and Pentecostal). Less educated and less qualified persons in the older age groups predominate among the believers, finding in religious organizations the illusory hope of reward and compensation. Meanwhile an intensive secularization of the world and society is going on, primarily due to socialist construction and revolution and evidenced particularly by eminently secular attitudes, convictions and behavior in large groups of youth, by the formation of large schools of nonreligious opinion among rural youth, and by a divine absenteeism (as Lucian Blaga would say) apparent in nearly all categories of the population.

Question What did the field studies reveal about the neo-Protestant denominations?

Answer Two opposite trends: an attraction to institutions of education, instruction and culture, characterizing the Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists, and a fear of education, instruction and culture like the horror vacui of medieval philosophies, characterizing the Christian According to the Gospel and Pentecostal denominations. The latter believe that too much learning is harmful and that observance of religious norms requires only minimal knowledge imparted not by schools but by the church.

Question The state of religious belief is different today than it was, say, 20 or 30 years ago. New religions are appearing, as well as proselyting campaigns among youth. How dangerous are those campaigns?

Answer You are probably thinking particularly of the unauthorized religious groups on Romanian territory. It is known that they are organized in small and medium groups and rarely in large ones and that they operate secretly, using subtle means of clandestine persuasion, pressure and repression that are not just religious. Such groups (Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventists, Reformists, Pentecostal Dissidents, Bazaranes, God's Army, Betanists, Universalists et al.) are not legally recognized because their creeds and organizational charters do not meet the legal requirements for recognition, and they violate the standards of social coexistence and public morality. In recent years the mass communications media have repeatedly informed public opinion of violations not only of public order but also of good will among people and religious organizations.

Question You included institutions of higher education in the study. What is the state of religious belief among the students?

Answer An applied study at the Bucharest University Center in 1978 included 78 departments in eight institutes of higher education (the University, the Polytechnic



Institute, the Nicolae Balcescu Institute of Agronomy, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, the Institute of Constructions, the Academy of Economic Studies, the Cyprian Bordeasescu Conservatory and the Nicolae Grigorescu Institute of Plastic Arts), with a sampling of 1,600 students, all of whom were born since 23 August 1944. "Small samplings" on the criteria of "micro-samplings" were taken in every county if institutes of higher education were operating in its localities, so that your question is justified. But there is no state of religious belief among the students in the strict sense of the term. There are no religious students outside of a number that is practically negligible statistically. There are religious attitudes, due to defective awareness, the power of persuasion of parents or religious groups, or other causes. Students from neo-Protestant families (especially Baptist and Seventh-Day Adventist families) are exceptions. Through a strange "contagion of the holy," they seek their main satisfactions in the institutions of higher education for medicine and pharmacy, for example, or art, law, agronomy or constructions and find their "friends" or "girl friends" in the other departments. But in the main the students have atheistic (often emphatically secular) attitudes, behavior and convictions. The participation of groups of students in special religious ceremonies (weddings, christenings or funerals) is only rarely for religious reasons.

Question? A book by a "witch" made a great stir last year. Does it explain the interest, isolating that of youths, in divination, astrology, prophecies and other such forms of religious obscurantism?

Answer? All localities in the areas studied contain a kind of religious baggage reflected in the interest of some youths or groups of youths in elementary forms of religious experience and in forms of mysticism and obscurantism institutionalized as parascientific and parareligious forms. They have an interest and confidence in astrology, fortunetelling, divination in coffee, palmistry, fortunetelling with cowry shells and beans, spells, charms, and other primitive exorcisms, to say nothing of attending rituals of religious establishments and wearing religious insignia made in a para-aesthetic style. Although such manifestations do not always indicate rejection of the historical and dialectical-materialist ideology concerning the world and life and only rarely reflect firm religious convictions, they must be combatted as resolutely as professed religious convictions because they do not necessarily represent remnants of attitudes that are disappearing on a macrosocial scale but symptoms that say more at a lower cultural level and in the presence of some weaknesses in the effort to combat mysticism, obscurantism and religious fanaticism. It was believed for a long time that this religious baggage is to be explained solely by the attitudes of its bearers and that it is not a matter for the sciences, thus giving free rein to some marginal elements of society who fattened on the need for novelty and the hope of reward through an illusory compensation that was entertained by large categories of the population to take personal profit from such primitive religious practices and from the sale of amulets of that kind.

Question? What concrete steps have you made to improve atheist education?

Answer? Quite a few. But they cannot be summarized or systematized right here and now. Essentially they concern long-term measures for continuing improvement of all fields of social activity, from legislation regulating general legal control of religious to improvement of the education plans and analytical programs. The principle of combating the religions is quite valid in a socialist society in Romania's present stage of development. But it must not be forgotten that "religion must be proven false in itself and not by the fact that its opposite is true," as Lenin says, meeting religion.



## DETAILS ON KOSOVO 'COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY' GROUPS

Zagreb DASAS in Serbo-Croatian 13, 20 Apr 82

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[Text] People With Two Faces

At first glance the trojkas, local committees made up of teachers and university or secondary school students do not give the impression of any particular force in terms of the number of members, adherents and followers. They had few production workers or farmers, and more idle, fledgling and unseasoned people with education. There were few political hypocrites among them, people with one secret face that is hidden, though there were some of those as well. Since they were operating in settlements, in communities, and usually in school faculties and student bodies, in places where sociopolitical organizations exist, which also implies an elaborate system of social self-protection, including a security service, it is very easy to underestimate them.

What, for example, could the underground organization (local committee) of Ismail Hajredina do in Decani?

On 7 October 1980 many street signs in the town were painted over. Of course, that part of the bilingual street names written in Serbo-Croatian was blotted out. Someone did this at night, and his message was more than clear. Just a few weeks later it happened again. Again the street names in Serbo-Croatian were painted over, while the names in Albanian were left unless the streets bore the names of national heroes of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality. Then both versions were obliterated.

So that there would be no mistake, the hand of the nationalists defaced the streets of Decani on the eve of 28 November 1980, a national holiday of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Not only did the irredentists celebrate its own holiday in that way, but it also insulted our own holiday, Republic Day, 29 November. The chauvinistic underground--all this was discussed--is still and increasingly bothered by the heroes of the revolution, who shed their own blood for the community of Yugoslavs, for the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

So that there might be no confusion as to who the "heroes" were who had in this way repudiated the heroes, that very same day someone wrote on the walls of the "Vellezerit Prasheri" School Center for Vocational Education in Decani: Long Live the Albanian Workers Party! Enver Hoxha! Down With Revisionism!

Both language versions, both scripts, were painted over on the plaque in the street named after the national hero Petar Prija. However, this eruption of nationalistic enmity did not surprise the disturbed and frightened citizenry of Decani of all nationalities. Two days before the bust of the hero had disappeared from its pedestal in the grounds of the elementary school in Iznic, which was also named after him.

The next day the citizens of Decani read nothing in the newspapers about everything that had happened. There was no debate in the Socialist Alliance and youth organization or in local communities about the shady work of the adherents of the underground organizations "Red Front" and "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo," which was obvious, at least from the slogans which they had scrawled all over the town. Perhaps the provincial press truly cannot and need not record every outbreak, every slogan which appears in some little town or village? Perhaps they really did not know who were all the people behind those irredentist acts?

Perhaps it was enough for this to be known to law enforcement agencies and the political leadership?

If one seeks an answer to these questions, in the spirit and logic of a self-managing society, then it is unthinkable that the citizens, organized through self-management, could conduct a political campaign against a masked enemy without being familiar with the forms and methods they were combating, his strategy and tactics. Social self-protection simply cannot be effective if those conducting it, the working people and citizens, do not know who they are protecting themselves from and who they are fighting.

Today--1.5 years later--they know a great deal more in Decani. They know that the local committee of the NLPK [National Liberation Movement of Kosovo] of Ismail Hajredinaj, connected through Nimen Mustafaj with Ali Selmanaaj, a university student from Glodjane (30), along one of the lines of its activity gathered together a group of followers who carried out these acts in 1980. Bajram Mehmetaj (29), Sace Qerimaaj (29) and Isa Hasanaaj (43), all farmers from the village Junik and Glodjane in Decani Opstina, and the village Rakoc in Djakovica Opstina, removed the bust of Petar Prija from the grounds of the school in Iznic at about 2300 hours on 26 November 1980 and hid it in a hole on the Iznic--Glodjane road.

During a public discussion held 25 August 1981 it was in fact discovered who painted the sign--these were all by and large minors, pupils at the vocational education school, whose names we are not giving for that very reason. In February 1981 S. K. and M. B. established the youth group Shqiponja (Eagle), which then carried out many other tasks.

The fanaticism of these misguided children, who were altogether unable to fully realize what someone had persuaded them to do was surprised in the court by the testimony of Bajram Mehmetaj, one of the three who removed the head of the national hero Petar Prija:

"Petar Prija wanted to kill one of my relatives, and I wanted to take revenge."

All of them, both the farmers and the schoolchildren, were actually directed (whether they were conscious of it or not) by the local committee of the "National Liberation Movement" and by its chairman Ismail Hajredinaj--through the trujka members Ali Selmanaaj, a university student, and Islam Mustafaaj (22), a student at the school of agriculture, who of the entire group were given the heaviest sentences by the court in the first instance. Connections based on proximity (most were from the same village) and kinship were used to involve people in underground activity.

At this point we will discuss another branch and connection of the Decent organization, one extending into another opstina. The connection, as we showed in the diagram published in our last issue, was Bajram Gashi (23), employed until his arrest as a policeman in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Dyakovica, who was at the same time a student at the Junior Postsecondary School of Pedagogy in the same town (department of Albanian language and literature).

His "case" is more than interesting. This is an obviously enterprising individual who was studying at the university while still working, but it is also a case of political hypocrisy in a very dangerous job of a custodian of law and order which he secretly wished to destroy, undermine and replace.

Back in late 1978 and in the first half of 1980 Gashi met and became a friend of Ismail Hajredinaj, leader (founder) and chairman of the Decent local committee, a teacher of physical education. Gashi had great attractions for Hajredinaj, since he worked in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. He began to give him illegal emigre and other anti-Yugoslav literature. When he gave to Gashi him sufficiently, he sent him out to recruit others.

In September 1980, in accordance with the previous instructions of Hajredinaj, who had confided him with the method of organization into sections, Gashi visited the hostile underground group--the local committee of the "Red Front"--near the village Lapusnik at a place called Setaja, this time in "house-to-house" fashion, in which he included people to whom he had been giving Yugoslav literature over the previous 2 months and whom he had recruited for the village in the organization.

It is now very well clear when the local committee of the Decent established a local committee of the "Red Front" through Bajram Gashi and Ismail Hajredinaj, but not by Gashi.

And the Decent did not have the hostile intent of Gashi. It was in 1980 that at the founding meeting Gashi handed out the title of a "Red Front" to Gashi. Gashi, a university student from Lapusnik, was sent by the Decent to recruit

(811), while he retained for himself the post of secretary (Shifteri--Fajuni).

The committee's third member was Ismet Sopi, also of Lapusnik, a teacher at the elementary school in Driat, who had the pseudonym Shpetim (Rescue), and he took over the tasks of treasurer (collecting and keeping accounts of dues). Serin Sopi (54), the oldest member of the group, a farmer, who had finished 2 years of elementary school (pseudonym Flaka--Flame), Nuh Sopi (39), a worker in the slaughterhouse at Kusovo Polje, with the secret nickname Koci, Naim Bajrami (34), a teacher in Driat, and Halil Kulliqi (30), a university student, made up the rest of the members of the group organized by Gashi's leading trioka.

They operated according to the same principles as the group in Decani, but briefly, since the leader Bajram Gashi was arrested immediately thereafter, while the others were discovered only after the March and April events in 1981, after the demonstrations and disorders brought about in Glogovac. Perhaps precisely because he was a policeman, because he worked in an environment in which his true political face could not go unnoticed, he was thwarted in his work quite early.

By contrast with a majority of the accused who were before the courts during 1981 and 1982, Gashi did not attempt to mitigate his guilt in his defense. While a majority said that they had been persuaded to take part in the illegal organizations and activities, unaware that they were operating against the constitutional system, that they were organizers and leaders, Bajram Gashi had no regrets and admitted all the allegations in the indictment.

According to his testimony before the court, he began his hostile activity as soon as he read the Communist Manifesto in which Marx says that every frontier defined by a war causes a new war. He spoke about the Prison League, whose task, he thought, was to win the rights of the Albanian people which had not been realized even in the revolution.

He went on to speak of the Berlin Congress, about Isa Belicini, Azem Bejta, and even about Miladin Popovic. In just the same way as they are spoken of in Albanian propaganda broadcast by Radio Tirana whose "line of argument" aimed at Kosovo and Albanian citizens in the IFP strives to prove the "historic necessity" of breaking up the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and to encourage Kosovo separation.

It is difficult to judge whether Bajram Gashi was a victim or instrument of that propaganda. Probably he was both.

"We are not demanding," he declared, "that the Serbs, Montenegrins and others leave Kosovo, but rather we want to live together, but not as an ethnic minority. I and the others will go to the end and punishment will have no effect on us at all."

The members of the Ilindci group which Gashi recruited and established some when he was still a policeman, continue to operate when he was already in

justly waiting trial and just a few months later went out into the streets of Glogovac shouting "Kosovo a Republic." As members of the "Red Front," whose leadership was sitting abroad, they also--like their leader Bajram Gashi in the courtroom--maintained their discipline in spite of everything within the limits of the tactical phase of their movement.

The newspaper of their illegal organization BASHKIMI (UNITY), according to a quotation during the trial, spoke unambiguously about the strategic objective in its appeals for a struggle "with the pen and the gun for liberation" of Kosovo and for merger with the parent country, socialist Albania, for "liberation from the barbarous occupier, Yugoslavia," and so on, and so on. The ears and souls of Bajram Gashi and his followers were filled in the name of those goals with Great Albanian spirit, aspirations and deceptions.

Certainly the case of Bajram Gashi and the others also indicates our own mistakes and oversights--when we fully interpret their history, clearly, in terms of the class, science and the facts.

Having traveled the road along which the trojka system in Decani Opstina created a separate organization in Glogovac Opstina, let us move on to the Decani--Kosovska Mitrovica connection (the latter still went by that name at the time). Again the connection was the local committee in Decani--from Ismail Hajredinaj to Hasan Gekashaj, from him to Avdullah Hasannetaj--and finally to Bislim Zajrami (32), the key man in our new episode, which shows how the underground network spreads with disproportionate speed.

Zajrami is a machine technician, he lives in Mitrovica, and he works in a factory of the Trepena Mining, Metallurgical and Chemical Combine in Srbica. "Red Front" and the "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo," then, with inputs from Decani (and who knows from what other directions) toward the most highly developed center in Kosovo, the industrial area of Mitrovica, to establish its own underground points there as to link up with those that already existed. Inspired by Avdullah Hasannetaj, Bajrami (Besnik--Devoted) established his trojka according to the well-known formula in July 1980; it consisted of himself, Ismail Seferi (29), a student in the school of engineering who failed only final examinations to graduate and was a teacher in the Silyira Tamarini School Center in Kosovska Mitrovica (Ismendrem Vignik--Silyi), and Ruzopi (20), a lawyer employed in an institution for old-age and disability insurance (nickname Gaji).

They recruited and adopted cadres, they read the underground press, they sold their story, they did everything here by the other similar illegal groups, and above all they recruited new members, acting on the principle of "lead 100,000."

Nevertheless, as established at the trial in the District Court in Kosovska Mitrovica on 12 June 1981, broader and fuller knowledge is being gained about how the "Front" and external enemy operated in Kosovo. It is becoming clear that it made its way painfully, slowly, that it had defeats in its activities, that it encountered resistance first of all from the Albanians themselves, who were the only open opponents, but they refused to accept its goals and its activities. For example, in the defendant's list in Kosovo's Mitrovica Court



were only three members of the trojka, those who had committed themselves to expanding an enlarging their organization, as the bylaws called upon them to do, while in the trial there were just as many witnesses, precisely those whom Bajrami, Smakiqi and Rexhepi had not only attempted to win over, but had even--prematurely as it turned out--assigned secret nicknames.

We are also discovering why the dues were paid and what they were spent for: Bislim Bajrami, who was the treasurer, would turn the money over to Avdullah Hasanmetaj in Decani. He was aware, it seems, that it was primarily intended to obtain weapons and only thereafter to aid the families of the poor members of the organizations and those arrested for their illegal dirty work.

According to the testimony of one witness, who was a participant in a similar organization, he and the members of the illegal group might know the members of the local committee, but they would not know the names of the members or the place of operation of the central committee. That central committee--the main leadership--is still an unconfirmed hypothesis in all the trials held in 1981, insofar as it might be some point of leadership within the country and within SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. The facts established at present and the testimony of members of the illegal organizations indicate that all the detected links and channels lead abroad, to diplomatic missions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, or directly to Tirana, and there there really is a central committee.

It is not out of the way in this case, which occurred in Kosovska Mitrovica, a workers' city which today bears Tito's name, to present the basic argument used in defense of the principal defendant. In the end his trojka was a tiny minority among the tens of thousands of Albanian workers who are creating and producing, self-managing and defending our community consensus and the achievements of our revolution, and that still would have been the case if there had been 100-fold more of them. The working class in Mitrovica, the strongest attachment of the working class in Kosovo, affected by the inherited backwardness and difficult economic problems of the present, has been proving its faith in the correctness of the strategy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia--the strategy of self-management and community consensus.

Bislim Bajrami, however, testified in court:

"I do not agree with the social system in Yugoslavia, with the social inequities, the informality [familijarnost], with the economic crimes. If this is self-management socialism, it would be better for it not to exist, and I think these injustices would be corrected if Kosovo were proclaimed a republic."

Nor can the working class of Yugoslavia as a whole reconcile itself to the deformations and shortcomings Bislim Bajrami cannot put up with. What makes him different is the idea of Kosovo, forcibly wrenched from the SFRY, dropping out of that system of self-management to be hitched up to the yoke of Stalinist bureaucratic omnipotence. Where Bajrami sees the cause of the evil, the workers of Mitrovica, among whom the trojka remained isolated, see the method and their class weapon to overcome and eradicate this.



It was quite by accident that we began our researches in Decani, and we might have started from any other opstina, city, or village in the province, or even from outside it. We might have started with one conspirator, like Salih Salihu (22), for example, a university student from Podujevo, who in February 1980 established an illegal organization with six members in that same town, giving it the name "Back on Its Feet" (Perseri ne kembe) and gave a nickname to each member, drafted rules of order, and did all of this under the patronage of Selatin Shal, a farmer from Podujevo, who was thereby obviously extending the chain of illegal trojkas. We still would have come to the same results--to sizable established forms of organization and methods of indoctrination, recruitment, and gradual involvement of candidates in various actions. The members of the group in Podujevo, which Salihu gathered and led, later on raised up young people, schoolchildren, university students, and certain working people against the forces of order and security, encouraging violence in the context of the broader offensive of the counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo.

The same was done by the points and trojkas of the broader organization or by individuals in Vucitrn, Glogovac, Kacanik, Pec, Crosevac, Ljipjani, Istok and other parts of the province.

The enemy systematically, persistently and aggressively sought a base and point of support wherever he was allowed--either by a lack of vigilance or the passivity of the responsible authorities. One of the places of greatest strategic importance to him, one which he intended to conquer and to some extent did so, was the university in Pristina. That will be the topic of the next installment.

[20 Apr 81 pp. 80-84]

[Text] It begins in Part 119.

"I went on the anger of the Albanians and the Albanian flag that I will fight incessantly for unification of Albanian areas." These are the words composed by the poet of Bajram Kosumi and uttered by all those present in Room 119 of Partizani No. 1 in Pristina, which was the room of Gani Vilahija, still a student attending classes at that time in the school of economics in Pristina, but who later finished everything but his final examinations. That was in January 1980. There were six of them--Musti Krasni, Gani Mustafaj, Gani Gashi, Bajram Kosumi and Bajram Kosumi (22), the youngest of them all. The rest were 23 and 24 and the only philosophy student among the conspirators.

The conspirators often met very well and had long been friends, but their meeting this time was not just a proposal by Gani Mustafaj back in November 1979, to establish an illegal group and to expand and strengthen it by winning more members. Mustafaj and Musti Krasni, the oldest, were the principal speakers, and they talked about the upcoming celebration of 28 November, the day of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. They actually conducted a kind of an illegal secret ceremony. Then the discussion began about Stalin's good deeds and bad deeds. Mustafaj said that Stalin was a true revolutionary who followed the path of Marx, Engels and Lenin, while Hajr Kosumi thought that

opposite: for him Stalin was a revisionist. And the others presented their views as well, but in the end they agreed that they should operate and should create an illegal group that would fight for the annexation of Kosovo by NSR [People's Socialist Republic] Albania.

The idea of the group was realized, as we have said, in January 1980 in the room of Gani Vllahia. The oath meant that traitors among them would be punished most severely, that they all had to abide by the rules of underground operation, that no one was to ask where the illegal propaganda material was coming from nor who gave it to them, nor where it went afterward. It was agreed that each of them would organize a *trojka* of like-minded people.

Bajram Kosumi drafted a program consisting of five points--ideological edification of the members; furnishing political materials and literature and their distribution; winning over new followers; the fight against Slavization; and annexation of SAP Kosovo and all the Albanian areas to NSR Albania. As it was established in the trial held 28, 29 and 30 August 1981, this program meant this: following the TV and radiobroadcasts of Tirana, distributing and reading the party materials of the Albanian Workers Party, the illegal newspapers "Voice of Freedom" and "Unity" (published abroad by the "National Liberation Movement of Kosovo" and the "People's Red Front," respectively), studying the works of Enver Hoxha, above all his book "Self-Management--Capitalist Theory and Practice," copying poems and texts glorifying the Kosovo irredentists, enflaming nationalistic sentiments and romanticism (the irredenta even has its latter-day "heroes"), criticizing the situation in Kosovo and glorifying everything said and done in NSR Albania, disciplined maintenance of contacts through which propaganda material was received from abroad (West Germany, Austria and Albania) and used, indoctrination and recruitment of new members, and their linkage through the system of *trojkas*, followup and assessment of activities, of the loyalty of every member on assigned missions (in the acts of writing slogans, distributing leaflets, etc.), rousing anti-Yugoslav, especially anti-Serb and anti-Montenegrin, sentiments, boycotting the Serbo-Croatian language, spreading historical myths and the Great Albanian spirit, exerting pressure on the non-Albanian population in the province, activity directed toward destroying the community consensus of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the SFRY, and activity toward achievement of the ultimate goal.

How many underground cells like Kosumi's were there in January 1980 and later at Pristina University? It is difficult to say, but certainly it was not the only one, nor was it the first that was established there. It is not always possible to establish this from the court record, which contains the testimony of the accused and their counsel, the witnesses and the facts established in evidentiary proceedings. Nor can one even say with certainty who was the real organizer and chief of the group established in Room 310. Was it Carl Leshani, the one who furnished the formal initiative, or someone else perhaps not detected even yet? Before the meeting in which they were to decide to establish the underground group--in November 1979--when they talked about Stalin--Halit Džani, one of the six, made the contact between Bajram Kosumi and Hajredin Hajredini, a university student from Struga, so that he might talk to him about the "unequal and difficult position" of Albanians in Yugoslavia and their underdeveloped Kosovo. Did that Leshani contact Kosumi, or Kosumi him-

or was some third party, from the same group or outside it, the long arm of some other underground cell? Someone was pulling the strings, that is certain.

Or let us examine the case of Merxhan Avdili, who was tried with this same group and who, it was stated in the court, had been involved in hostile activities since back in 1978 during his first year at the university. Through his roommate Sahit Usmani Avdili had been receiving material which Usmani's brother Rulit brought from Austria and Germany and received from the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade. That Albanian propaganda ("Letter of the Albanian Workers Party Addressed to the Chinese Government," pamphlets of Mahmut Kallaku and Kamiz Alija, magazines and literary publications) was sufficient to prepare Avdili to become a new link for the trojka of Bajram Kosumi, chairman of the illegal sector of the "Red Front" from Room 310. B. Kosumi also roomed at one time with Avdili and had connections with many students in the dormitories at Pristina University. The very fact that the six members of the underground group were tried before the District Court in Pristina with another 10 or 11 university students, past and present, indicates that many rooms in the university dormitories were connected not only by corridors, but the enemy's systematic, conspiratorial and carefully planned activity also streamed through the walls of the dormitories.

The network was obviously organized in response to a uniform directive issued by a single center and governed by the same principles. Almost all the underground organizations discovered in SAP Kosovo were very similar or identical in the way they were organized and the way the system of trojkas was carried out in the rules of conspiracy, the program of activities, the method of action, and the goals, and what adaptations there were to the particular situation were incidental. They all distributed and covered the same literature. The members of the groups in the nuclei were given pseudonyms, and there was both criticism and self-criticism in the meetings. Thus Bajram Kosumi (Andreja), who was praised on one occasion since he had done good work and in the trojka system had successfully recruited people of like mind, while the work of Halil Ademaj (Kosovli) and Gani Vllahiu (Shkrepi) was on one occasion given a full mark. Nevertheless, all three, together with Musli Kosumi (Bardhi), Ljori Tuci (Ljoni) and Gani Kosumi celebrated 28 November, the day of the People's Socialist Revolution of Albania, for the second time in 1980. They met in Gani Kosturi's home in Pristina.

Let us return now to the trojka. This was the winter of 1978/1980. One of the trojka was battling his grave illness and then death. The international situation was suddenly deteriorated, especially with the events in Afghanistan. All the internal and external enemies were preparing themselves for action. Trojka met at Pristina University, the one located in Room 310, and there the trojka decided upon the trojka's internal relations. Trojka's decision was that of the trojka proposed by the group that Tito's statue be removed from the center of the city and that the statue of the 50th anniversary of the 1945 revolution be moved to the center, and the idea was abandoned. The principal task of the trojka at that moment was ideological improvement, and they were to be given the right which would give them away. Someone was providing the directions, preparing what suggested a secret date in March and April 1980.

At that time there were many professors and instructors from Tirana teaching at Pristina University. No one saw anything dangerous about large numbers of people listening to Radio Tirana and watching Albanian television. "Red Front" was working at full capacity--through the secret organization and through its organ, which, as Bajram Kosumi told Merxhan Avdili after he had read BASHKIMI (UNITY), No 3, was working to raise the consciousness of the people, which would bring about the "revolution." Thus a Great Albanian separatist conspiracy was dug in at the university.

The demonstrations and disorders of the students which began on 11 March 1981 flared up on 26 March and reached their peak on 1 and 2 April. They were planned as a kind of fuse which was supposed to cause explosions and conflicts all over the province (which is fact they did). They served as signals for the other illegal counterrevolutionary organizations to go into action.

There is no doubt that the methodological model used on this occasion comes from the arsenal of special warfare, also referred to as indirect warfare. In the first phase this model calls for indoctrination and firm organization of the nucleus, which has direction in terms of ideology, politics and action and which is capable of disciplined performance of tasks assigned it. Through its underground subversive activity and infiltration it destroys the tissue of the existing order, seeks out its weak points, and so on. When the time is right, this illegal organization, without making known its true goals, demands, identity, leaders' names, nor even its existence, utilizes or artificially creates and accentuates some problem or pretext that arouses the political and emotional reaction to social groups and masses and identifies itself with it. These may be major events, but they also may be insignificant, examples of injustice, social and economic shortcomings, incidents, accidents--cases that cause resentment. An illegal organization carrying out special warfare takes the sign from its leadership in focusing on that kind of situation or phenomenon and uses it to gain allies and followers. Through its disciplined members it operates from within a large body or segment of society and puts demands which suit the pretext or are related to it, and it then radicalizes them and instills them in the masses in that radicalized form. If it succeeds in accomplishing this phase, it moves on to the next phase--it emerges as a movement and puts new and broader demands--usually unacceptable--which no longer have any relation to the pretext--deepening the crisis and striving to cause open conflicts and bloodshed, sharp polarization, and the largest possible upheavals. If it also gets through that phase, it is only then that it emerges with its minimal and then its full-fledged demands, and at a suitable moment emerges from the dark with its true face and leaders onto the national and international scene and moves unrestrainedly toward its ultimate goal, of course with the help of factors outside the country.

It is this scenario for indirect, special warfare that was attempted in Kosovo against the SFRJ. To avoid repeating everything that is already well known concerning these events, here is what happened at the local level--at Pristina University, which served as the impetus for the broader unrest and counterrevolutionary activity in the province.

We are back again in Dormitory No 3 and in that notorious Room 110. More than a year has passed since the six-member underground group of Bajram Kosumi was established in that room in January 1980. It is 10 March '81. In the evening, about 2000 hours. The day is coming to an end, and it seems that nothing more of any moment could happen that day for Pristina and the university. Not for Kosovo, which was preparing for rest.

There are now new people in the room--people later accused and convicted--Gani Koci (24), a student at the Junior Postsecondary School of Pedagogy, Jashar Iamini (24), a fourth-year law student, Ramadan Dobra (24), also a lawyer, as was Kadri Kryeziu (24) in the fourth year, and then Murat Masliu (24), also in the pedagogical school, Selim Geci (23), a chemistry student in the Division of the natural sciences, and Bedri Deilu (24), a fourth-year law student. Most of them were from villages in Srbica Opstina--Polac, Ljubidze, Krusevci, Likovje, Lause, and Rezala, and one from Fagarusa in Drahovac Opstina.

Gani Koci had invited them to his room, not for the first time. In what student dormitory do the young men and women not gather to talk a bit, to joke, to play instruments or sing? This time, however, it was only to the first glance that they seemed to be having fun. Drinking tea, the people gathered took up the topic which was started by the inventive Koci, who obviously enjoyed a reputation among them--What should be done in connection with the bad food in the dormitory dining hall? One word followed another, and they agreed that the next day, 11 March, they would request a conference with the administration. And if they did not reach agreement with it that they would "cause trouble," interrupt the serving of food, destroy the dining room's furniture and win over the other students to join them in a demonstration.

Though it did involve vandalism, the agreement did not at first suggest anything more than yet another student disorder. In what country in the world have the students been altogether satisfied with the food, with scholarships and housing conditions? But this idea still was not the fruit of youthful impetuosity. This is why: It was agreed in the meeting that the action would begin the next day, 11 March, at precisely 1900 hours, and all those present, who were joined during the evening by certain other students (Ramli Zemberi) committed themselves to involving as many students as possible in the action, and each of them was given certain tasks. That same night and the next morning about 30 or so students had already been informed in detail about a plan of action: not only, that is, that they would make "trouble" in the restaurant, but also about what would follow. The planned conference with the dining hall manager, to whom they intended to put demands for improvement of serving, had no other purpose at all except to disguise what they intended to do in any case. Sometime during the day Gani Koci, organizer of the action, was informed that the serving of food had been speeded up in the dining hall, since another self-service line had been opened. At a brief meeting just before 1900 hours in Room 110 a check was made on the preparations that had been made, and then they all set in tramp of the dining hall. Some 20 or so of them went into the office asking to speak with the manager, while the others stood in the lines and sat at the tables. The manager, not dreaming what was being prepared, had started to say just everything would be done to improve. He saw the food was served when Kadri Kryeziu turned over the first tables.



As though in response to a signal there began a breaking of chairs, windows and dishware, and a turning over of tables. The group did exactly what Januz Januzi had proposed the previous evening when the outbreak was being prepared. As those students arrived who were informed of the plan and also those who were coming normally for supper, a sizable group was created in front of the restaurant, which was blocked off.

There were slogans to be heard:

"We Want Better Service!"

"Bread!"

Gani Koci's group, carrying out the planned assignment, left the demolished dining hall and went outside where other students were standing, among them, certainly, members of the illegal group of Bajram Kosuni, also an organized detachment of the counterrevolutionary organization in the dormitory. More aggressive slogans were shouted:

"Down With the Bourgeoisie!"

"Unity!"

"We Want Our Comrades Released From Prison!"

Even these slogans uttered in the first minutes after the action began contained its political and action program, and one could decipher as well the entire political situation at the university and establish the strong and organized presence of the enemy. Whereas the slogan "We Want Better Service!" was related to the allegedly legal pretext of the demonstration, the next one--"Bread!"--contained a general social demand with quite broad Kosovo overtones. The third slogan--"Down With the Bourgeoisie!"--was actually an accusation of the social system, based as to its theory on the thesis of Enver Hoxha and the Albanian Workers Party--that Yugoslav self-management is a form of government by the bourgeoisie. The fourth demand--"Unity!"--contained a call (but also pressure) for a rallying around the counterrevolutionary forces in the name of nationalistic Great Albanian visions. In the fifth slogan--"We Want Our Comrades Released From Prison!"--which directly demanded legal legitimacy for counterrevolutionary action, the students declared themselves to be protagonists of the continuity of the irredenta.

To many people at the time this kind of reading of the slogans mentioned seemed forced, but the events which followed were to confirm it. There was no room for illusions, since on 11 March the students, in a crowd in which well-organized groups conscious of what they wanted to achieve were operating, cleared the way for the counterrevolution.

Hamdi Zymberi had a club in his hand. The crowd in the Student Center and the reading room continued demolishing things, and then it went into the street, calling to the other students and citizens to join it. Several instructors who had arrived, after being informed what was happening around the dormitories, tried to bring the leaders to their senses and persuade them to



disperse. No one listened. Ali Lajci, Absolvent [student who has finished coursework but not final examinations for a degree] in Albanian [literature at the school of philosophy, climbed up on a power substation and shouted:

"Just look at the energy and youthful blood, just see what a power it is-- march on!"

Then he vanishes, melts into the multitude, shouts slogans (only to emerge again in the role of a leader 15 days later in the disorders brought about on 28 March 1981). The column moved toward the building of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, slogans were shouted, and stones were thrown at the arriving policemen, who stopped them at the intersection of Sren Street and Ramiz Sadiku Street, and then broke them up into several groups. It was already late, and the demonstrators withdrew toward the Armories in small groups. Pristina and its citizens were aroused and astounded.

Political bodies were meeting that evening in the city. Not what was later learned from the official communications was only the news of the disorder, which, though certainly it was to be condemned, was nothing other than an obvious expression of student dissatisfaction with living and working conditions which hostile forces had attempted to abuse, without major success. It all left the impression that this was a not very important episode in the rather lengthy chronicle of the irredenta. Certainly there were even at that time people in the political leadership of Kosovo who saw this event as an isolated blip of the enemy's open offensive.

It turned out that that is exactly what was intended, that this was an introductory action in which the domestic enemy was testing his own strength (at the same time testing to see how the political, government and self-management structures of the province, the republic, the Federation, the University and the city would react, to see what sort of means would be used in suppressing the provocation, what sort of information would appear in the media and what sort of political, psychological and propaganda affects the entire nation would achieve). The enemy used limited forces for this first of his operations--a detachment of one or two small underground student groups. It all was, then, risk free and consisted in recruiting new followers after the event, while intent was joined by students who until that point had not been organized.

In the middle of the night there was excitement in front of the Armories and in the dormitory rooms, and singing was heard. (Ali Lajci was his singing with, analyzing the work that had been done). He was singing enthusiastically that the revolution had been carried out (the province). A signal had been given to all the underground organizations all over Kosovo, including those organized since 1970 (the 1970s) living outside the province.

Not a single leader of the immediately preceding time. The demonstrations were to be carried out on a broader scale, with a great deal of violence and brutality--on the 28th, and then on 29th and 30th, when religious churches would be burnt against the mosques. On 30th (the 30th) they were still regarded as efface and isolation (retreated) by the enemy.

would sooner or later go on to the right road in our open self-managing society, in which there truly is no authentically revolutionary and democratic vision of a socialist economy for which they, together with the equal nationalities and ethnic minorities, cannot fight for and win legally, as citizens, as Albanians and as self-managers, building rather than destroying. On the basis of what happened on 31 March they probably never would have been tried, except perhaps by a judge for misdemeanors.

But that democratic and humane approach was accompanied by opportunism and liberalism--and in some cases even by half faith, a disguised nationalistic. Great Albanian motivation of influential individuals or their aspiration to take advantage of the irredemera as a means of consolidating group and personal power, as an instrument of bureaucratic pressure on the broader community, as an element of manipulation; they were accompanied by blindness or at least by an incomprehensible shortsightedness.

Just 2 weeks after the demonstrators on 31 March became rioters in the fictive disorders and once again on 1 and 2 April, when there were also the "first" slogans and demands:

"Tirana is Working for Others!"

"Unification of the Albanian Areas!"

"We Are Not Yugoslavs, But Albanians!"

"Kosovo is Republic!"

"No Republic, a Constitution, by Force if Necessary!"

It is true that these slogans heard only at Pristina University, but they were heard in many towns of the province as well. The price of opportunism had to be paid. It was known other than Enver Hoxha who raised his head out of the hopeless demand for a better way of serving food in the student dining hall.

In the trial of members of the group of Bajram Kosumi, Gani Koci and Ali Lajci, it was brought to light that the accused had been indoctrinated with the ideology of the Albanian Workers Party, with pamphlets from "Voice of Freedom," "Voila," "Voice of Kosovo"--issued abroad by Ibrahim Kalemendi ("Red Front") and Nuredin Gervalla ("National Liberation Movement of Kosovo"). Hamit Jashari not only heard but even taped lectures on social and political affairs of YAP Kosovo and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania which were delivered in dormitory rooms and private apartments. Bajram Kosumi received from the Albanian Dimitri Natifi, who lives in Italy, Enver Hoxha's book "Self-Management--Capitalist Theory and Practice," and read it aloud in his group. Nuredin Jashari obtained Hoxha's "Meetings With Stalin." Fahri Smeri read Hoxha's "Imperialism and Revolution." Gani Koci did Hoxha's "Theory and Practice of Revolution." His "The Dzhughchevists" was also read. The songs went from hand to hand, and they copied the poems of Agim Cjakeva "Handfuls of Saffron, Handfuls of Blood, Handfuls of Revolution" and the song about the



1) March: In the crowd. He himself shouted slogans, threw rocks at the police and members of the security service, broke windows and dented automobiles, and destroyed public and private property.

Carl Krashniqi, it was established in the trial, was often in communication with Albanian diplomats, in person and by telephone, from whom he received anti-Yugoslav literature, instructions for work with like-minded individuals, for organizing trips to Albania, so that he even had a pseudonym in the embassy. When he first met the Albanian diplomat Ilirja Rexi, Krashniqi delved deeply into the origin of his seemingly non-Albanian name, which sounded somehow Slavic, while his own--Carl--is altogether Albanian and means prosperity, that is--Bogatini. It was that word that became his underground nickname. It is difficult to establish what he told the foreign diplomats about the events on 1 March, but it is known that his statements were altogether favorable. That is, he first exchanged opinions on this and presented a detailed analysis to his own group, which aside from him consisted of Byent Daci (26), a fourth-year student at the school of economics, and Isak Krashniqi (33), a history teacher at the Ramiz Sadiku Center for Secondary Specialized Education in Pristina. This kind of analysis, as we know, was also made by the group of Carl Rexi, and probably by all the other underground cells in Pristina as well.

In his indictment on 8 August 1981 the representative of the District Public Prosecutor's Office did not even charge them for association on behalf of counterrevolutionary destruction of the social system, nor did he insist on the formal existence of the group. Carl Krashniqi and Byent Daci met and became friends at the school of economics, where Carl, a part-time student, was preparing and taking examinations, so that they even lived in the same room. Still in the 1977/78 academic year they read a great deal of smuggled literature and anti-Yugoslav materials and were enthusiastic about its content. Other friends and other parts listed as well, and they were later joined by Isak Krashniqi.

Carl Krashniqi was acquainted with Ilirja Rexi in Great Albania, and every time when he returned from the Albanian Embassy he would bring magazines, books, speeches and documents of the Albanian Workers Party. At the beginning of 1980-on the invitation of Carl Rexi he joined the Embassy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, where he selected 22 persons for whom he established a group that would work in Albania. The Embassy specifically required that the group include Albanians from different parts of SAP Kosovo and the SRV inclined toward Albania. Carl Krashniqi returned this task with Byent Daci, whom the Embassy recommended to him as a reliable collaborator. Thus Daci was one of the first group members and left for Albania on 15 February 1981.

On leaving the group was involved with marked activity, and it follows that it was a collective which had come from some country with similar oppression. Either way it was not known in Pristina, as it was not, as it was ignored. In any case Carl Krashniqi used the organized and programmatic material from Albania for propaganda previously collected in copies and their organizations in West Germany, Austria and Switzerland, later that material primarily arrived for Kosovo Albanians (SAP) and official channels.

He gave the literature and material, but also exchanged them, to Jakov Krasniqi, a teacher; they were not related, nor even from the same village and region, but the latter was a reliable person who thought along the same lines. Did the two of them make up a trojka with Hyari Thaci? It was established in the court that trojkas were discussed as a form of underground organization at at least one meeting held in the room of Gani Krasniqi and Hyari Thaci when Sadet Dyla and Arif Kabaishi came and when Dyla was explaining how the trojkas were supposed to operate. That was a long time ago--24 or 25 September 1978. Dyla also turned up from time to time on other occasions in the activity of that group, carrying leaflets and material for copying and the like. Everything indicates that the trojka nevertheless did exist and was connected to the system.

Gani Krasniqi went continuously in the Albanian Embassy, made for money, gave reports, which indicates that he felt or had the impression that he could be sold and was not taking risks. In 1979 he organized another trip to Albania, certainly under instructions of Albanian diplomats now in the West, but not just as guests just any Albanians, but indoctrinated Albanians who would operate in their own milieu when they returned and become part of the underground network.

Gani Krasniqi testified in court that he traveled as a tourist, as a companion visiting his uncle, Gani Krasniqi, who lives in Albania. He felt that there was nothing hostile or hostile/revolutionary in any of his activities. The names and testimony of witnesses and the independent related him. What he actually said at the Albanian mission in Belgrade on 21 March 1980 was confirmed by the witness Hajrullah Serjaku, who was in the Albanian Embassy with him and joined the meeting with Dila Ruci, an Albanian diplomat. Another witness, Ibrahim Duci, testified as to what Gani Krasniqi actually did and how he behaved in 1980 Albania, in the Europa Hotel, and spoke about his contacts with Abdul Serjaku, Gjerdin Terezi, Pajo Ruzhici, and others.

Gani and Jakov Krasniqi and Hyari Thaci who were charged and convicted, all were found in the trial of public hearing on 14 August, 1980, when the court found Krasniqi, a witness, guilty, sentencing the panel of judges in which were all the presiding judge and two lay judges, who were of Albanian nationality. There was thus a failure and no further with Gani and Hyari Thaci, who were found guilty and sentenced, and a court which could not stop at conviction. The court did not stop at conviction, but it did not have the right to sentence the guilty without full conviction.

#### THE COURT OF APPEALS (1980)

The second instance of the trial finished completely and the results of the trial were published in papers and posters all over in 1980. The court found guilty and sentenced all seven accused in Albania and all five in the West (convicted). The Albanian side of the appeal found guilty only one of the seven accused, the one who was found guilty in the first instance, and the other six were found guilty in the first instance, but not in the second. The court found guilty only one of the seven accused, the one who was found guilty in the first instance, and the other six were found guilty in the first instance, but not in the second.

underground undertake larger actions out in the open--on 26 March and 1 and 2 April--all over the province, with clear planning...

#### Correction:

In the first instalment of our series (DANAB, No 7, 6 April) an error was made in saying that the underground organization in Kosovska Mitrovica consisted of the following: Bislim Bajrami, Jakup Shuti, Naim Hyseni, Bajram Lajli, Selim Sijidij, Xhevat Deliu, Zogir Murati. These were actually people connected as a group because of counterrevolutionary activity in Vucitren. Actually the underground group in Kosovska Mitrovica was made up of Bislim Bajrami, Ismail Smakliqi and Jakup Kethapi. We call upon our readers to take this correction into account.

Time:  
Date: 25/04/195



## REGULATIONS ON COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

Belgrade SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 81 pp 1813-1818

[Regulations issued by Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, in Belgrade on 28 December 1981]

[Text] I. General Provisions

### Article 1

These regulations shall regulate aspects of compulsory military service pertaining to the keeping of military records on military registrants, the calling up of military registrants to do compulsory military service, medical and other examinations, and the psychological testing of inductees in order to evaluate fitness for military service, the establishment and procedure of recruitment commissions; the conditions and procedure for selection of cadets of the reserve commissioned officers school from among draftees, the time and manner of induction of registrants to do military service, the procedure for ascertaining the status of sole breadwinner, postponement and interruption of required military service, the discharge of soldiers from the Yugoslav People's Army, definition of organizations in which time spent in courses and other forms of professional military training is credited to the military registrant as military training and the competencies of the organs of military districts and other military organs in enforcing the particular provisions of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

### Article 2

The competent organ of the military district and organizational units within the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction includes the affairs of required military service may in conformity with the provision of Article 4, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, communicate directly with the opstina agency competent for affairs of required military service in order to have a direct insight into fulfillment of plans for recruitment and replenishment of the Armed Forces of the SFRY and other plans related to required military service and into the performance of tasks related to those plans.

## **II. Military Records on Military Registrants**

### **Article 3**

Military registrants shall be entered in the military records in accordance with Article 71, Paragraph 4, and in relation to Article 12, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, at the beginning of the calendar year in which they reach age 17.

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article military registrants who for whatever reason have not been entered in the military records in the calendar year in which they reached age 17 shall be entered in the military records.

### **Article 4**

Military records shall be kept in the Armed Forces of the SFRY by the following:

- 1) by the local organ of the military district--concerning reserve commissioned officers and reserve military employees;
- 2) by commands, staffs, units and institutions of the Armed Forces of the SFRY--concerning those subject to military service who are doing military service with them and concerning those subject to military service assigned to them in their war orders.

### **Article 5**

A military registrant who loses his military registration book or in some other way is left without his military registration book must report the loss or disappearance of the military registration book to the competent agency for issuing the military registration book designated in Article 73 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service within 8 days from the date when he learned of the disappearance of the military registration book. That body shall issue the military registrant a new military registration book after evidence is submitted that the missing military registration has been advertised as invalid in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

### **Article 6**

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community to which the military registrant has turned over his military registration book because of his departure abroad shall issue to that military registrant a certificate to the effect that he has satisfied his obligation as to required military service.

### **Article 7**

A person subject to military service who has become an active noncommissioned officer, active commissioned officer or active military employee shall turn over his military registration book to the military unit or institution in

which he was informed of his promotion to the rank of active noncommissioned officer, commissioned officer or active military employee. That unit or institution shall deliver the military registration book together with the notice of promotion within 15 days to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community which has that person in its military records.

#### Article 8

A person subject to military service whose military obligation has expired shall retain his military registration book in order to prove the termination of his military obligation.

The military registration book of a deceased military registrant shall be retained by his family.

#### Article 9

The form of the military registration book has been printed along with these regulations and constitutes an integral part of them.

### III. The Calling Up of Inductees and Reserve Personnel To Perform Certain Duties Related To Discharging the Military Service Requirement

#### Article 10

The agency of the sociopolitical community competent to keep military records shall call up the inductee or person in the reserves in the context of Article 67 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service in order to discharge the military service requirement.

The individual summons shall be used to call up an inductee to do his required period of military service or to call up a person in the reserves for a military exercise or other form of professional military training. An inductee or person in the reserves shall be called up to perform other duties related to discharging the military service requirement by an individual summons, by a general summons, or by an individual and a general summons.

The individual summons to the inductee or person in the reserves shall be delivered in written form and shall contain the information specified by the federal law regulating administrative procedure.

The general summons may be issued over the radio, in the press, over television, in posters or other means of informing the public.

#### Article 11

The individual summons to an inductee or person in the reserves to perform duties related to the discharge of the military service requirement, other than the summons for mobilization or mobilization drill, shall be served in the manner regulated by the federal law governing administrative procedure.

#### Article 12

If the person called is prevented by illness or other justifiable reason from reporting at the place and time designated in the summons related to performance of military service, immediately upon receipt of the summons he must so inform the competent agency which issued the summons, and if the reason for his incapacity occurred later, he shall do so immediately upon learning of that reason.

#### Article 13

A person who has applied for release from the nationality of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not be called up for military service until a decision has been made on that application, unless the person being called up to do his required military service is an inductee reaching age 27 in that calendar year.

#### IV. Medical and Other Examinations and Psychological Testing of Inductees and Recruitment

#### Article 14

The organ of the military district at the second level, upon the proposal of the local organ of the military district, shall designate the military medical institutions or organizations of associated labor in the field of health where medical and other examinations or psychological testing shall be done, taking as its point of departure that these examinations and tests should be done efficiently and at the lowest cost of resources and time.

#### Article 15

The local organ of the military district shall conclude a contract pursuant to the decision of the organ of the military district at the second level referred to in Article 14 of these regulations with the organization of associated labor in the health field concerning conduct of the medical and other examinations and the psychological testing of inductees.

#### Article 16

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community shall summon and send inductees for medical and other examinations and psychological testing and recruitment in accordance with the schedule of those examinations and the recruitment plan.

An inductee who returns to the country from a visit abroad and reports to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community for recruitment shall be sent for induction within 15 days from the date of his reporting.

The cadet of a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees and the student of a law enforcement school shall not be called up for medical and other examinations and

psychological testing and recruiting except in the case when he is required to do his period of military service after that status has terminated.

#### Article 17

The recruitment commission shall be established by the commanding officer of the local organ of the military district.

The title of the recruitment commission shall also contain the title of the local organ of the military district which established the recruitment commission. If the local organ of the military district has established two or more recruitment commissions for its area, it shall number the recruitment commissions in order.

#### Article 18

The membership of the recruitment commission shall be determined in conformity with Article 16 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

A physician who is a member of a recruitment commission shall as a rule be a person on active military duty. If there is not a sufficient number of physicians in active military service, a physician in the reserves may be appointed to membership in the recruitment commission, first of all a reserve officer during a military training session.

If there are not enough physicians and other persons serving in the local organ of the military district to make up the membership of the recruitment commission, the necessary number of those persons shall be designated by the organ of the military district at the second level.

The chairman of the recruitment commission shall direct the work of the recruitment commission.

#### Article 19

The recruitment commission shall induct the recruits which the competent agency of the sociopolitical community has sent for recruitment in accordance with the recruitment plan.

The recruitment commission may induct recruits even though they are not present on the basis of medical and other documentation unless the inductee is to be found unfit for military service.

As an exception to Paragraph 2 of this article, the recruitment commission can find the inductee unfit for military service even when he is absent, if the medical documentation and written reports of the competent agency of the sociopolitical community show that the inductee was unable to come for recruitment because he had become seriously ill or because of his physical defects.



## Article 20

The recruitment commission shall induct the recruit on the basis of the finding of medical and other examinations and psychological testing done previously, the criteria prescribed for evaluating the physical fitness of the registrants for military service, the recruitment plan and the conditions prescribed for determining the arms and services in which the recruit shall do his period of military service.

The recruitment commission may respect the recruit's wishes expressed at the time of induction with respect to designation of the arm or service in which he shall do his military service if this conforms to the criteria for evaluation of the physical fitness of military registrants for military service, the conditions for designating arms and services in which the recruit shall do his military service and the plan for staffing the Yugoslav People's Army.

## Article 21

The recruitment commission may in exceptional cases alter the arm or service under the conditions prescribed in Article 19 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

## Article 22

An inductee who has been found temporarily unfit for military service and applies to be sent for another assessment of his fitness for military service and submits medical documentation on improvement of his state of health may be sent for evaluation of his fitness for military service in accordance with the schedule of medical and other examinations and testing and in accordance with the recruitment plan.

## Article 23

As a rule the decision on reexamination of individuals, as referred to in Article 9, Paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall be made by the commanding officer of the local organ of the military district.

As an exception to Paragraph 1 of this article, the decision on reexamination of individuals may be made by the following: the commanding officer of the organ of the military district at the second level, the commanding officer of the organizational unit in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction extends over the affairs of the military service requirement, and the commanding officer of the organizational unit in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense whose jurisdiction extends over medical affairs.

The commanding officer referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall deliver the decision on reexamination of individuals to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community, and the competent officer referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article to the competent local organ of the military district.



The competent military medical commission shall perform the reexamination and issue the evaluation of fitness for military service of individuals referred to in Article 9 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service.

#### V. Procedure for Determination of the Status of Sole Breadwinner

##### Article 24

The status of sole breadwinner of a family shall be determined at the request of an inductee who has been served a summons to serve or complete his period of military service or on the request of a soldier.

The request referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

A soldier may submit his request for recognition of the status of sole breadwinner of his family to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community directly or through the military unit or military institution in which he is serving.

##### Article 25

The decision according a soldier the status of sole breadwinner of his family shall also be delivered to the military unit or institution in which the soldier is serving.

#### VI. The Sending of Recruits To Do Their Military Service

##### Article 26

Recruits shall be sent to do their military service on the basis of a command of the federal secretary for national defense and the plan for staffing the Yugoslav People's Army with recruits.

If a recruit whose military service was interrupted because of temporary unfitness for military service (Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service) is found fit in a subsequent induction or is put in the category of limited fitness for military service before the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 27, he shall be sent to complete his military service, if possible to a unit of the same arm or service in which he first did his military service.

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community may deliver to recruits in advance a notice as to when they will be called up to do or complete their military service.

##### Article 27

A person whose schooling as a cadet in a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees was interrupted for whatever reason shall be issued a certificate by that military

school concerning the time spent in the military school, and it shall inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community of his discharge from the military school within 15 days from the date of the discharge.

The person referred to Paragraph 1 of this article who has not discharged the obligation to do compulsory military service in the context of the provision of Article 39, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, may be sent to do or complete his military service immediately after interruption of schooling in the military school if he is fit or has limited fitness for military service and if he has reached age 18.

The person referred to in Paragraph 2 of this article shall be sent to do or complete his period of military service in the military unit or institution designated by the organ of the military district at the second level in whose territory the military school is located.

The military school shall inform the agency competent for keeping military records that the person referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article has been sent to do military service within a period of 15 days from the date when that person was sent.

A person who after interruption of schooling in a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees is sent to do or complete his required military service shall as a rule be assigned to that arm or service which conforms to his schooling in the military school if that schooling has lasted longer than 6 months.

## VII. Selection of Cadets for Reserve Commissioned Officers Schools

### Article 28

A recruit who has completed secondary, junior postsecondary or senior postsecondary education may be selected a cadet in a reserve commissioned officers school unless he has been convicted--and the verdict became final--of a crime against the foundations of the social system of socialist self-management and security of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or a crime committed out of desire for gain or other dishonorable motives or for any crime whatsoever involving an unsuspended prison sentence, or has been punished for a misdemeanor involving grave breaches of public order or morality, and unless criminal proceedings are being conducted against him for a crime which is automatically prosecuted.

As an exception, if the needs to staff the armed forces so require and if in the area of the sociopolitical community there are not enough recruits with the schooling stated in Paragraph 1 of this article, a recruit who has finished elementary school may also be selected as a cadet for a reserve commissioned officers school.

#### Article 29

A soldier who has at least 9 months left before the end of his required military service may be selected as a cadet for a reserve commissioned officers school and sent to serve the remainder of his military service in that school under the conditions prescribed for selection of recruits to be cadets of reserve commissioned officers schools (Article 27, Paragraph 3, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, and Article 28 of these regulations).

#### Article 30

Recruits which have expressed a desire to be reserve officers, those who have graduated from the respective school with the best success and those which are younger shall have preference in selection of cadets for reserve commissioned officers schools.

#### Article 31

The competent agency of the sociopolitical community, in the context of Article 27, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall deliver to the local organ of the military district a list of nominations for cadets in reserve commissioned officers schools no later than 3 months before they are to be sent to the reserve commissioned officers school.

The local organ of the military district shall establish a commission for selection of candidates for reserve commissioned officers schools.

A representative of the assembly of the sociopolitical community from whose jurisdiction recruits nominated for cadets in reserve commissioned officers schools may participate in the proceedings of the commission for selecting cadets for reserve commissioned officers schools according to the decision of the competent agency of that assembly.

The local organ of the military district shall inform the competent agency of the sociopolitical community concerning selection of individual cadets for reserve commissioned officers schools.

#### Article 32

The nomination of a soldier to complete his military service in a reserve commissioned officers school, in the context of Article 27, Paragraph 3, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, shall be delivered by the commanding officer of the regiment or equivalent or higher officer to the local organ of the military district where the soldier's records are kept.

#### Article 33

The cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who does not complete the first part of schooling in the school successfully shall be discharged from the school and sent to complete his period of military service in an appropriate military unit or military institution according to the assignment of the

organ of the military district at the second level in whose jurisdiction the school is located.

The cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who has not completed the second part of schooling in the military unit or military institution successfully, after his period of required military service has expired, shall be discharged by the military unit or military institution from the Yugoslav People's Army with that rank of a reserve noncommissioned officer which he acquired during schooling, which it shall report to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community which has him in its military records.

#### Article 34

A cadet of a reserve commissioned officers school who is discharged from schooling because of temporary incapacity or unfitness for military service shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army.

### VIII. Postponement of Military Service

#### Article 35

Military service may be postponed in the context of Article 32 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service at the inductee's request in the following cases:

- 1) if his presence is necessary to resolve the housing problem of his household during the time for which he requests postponement of his military service;
- 2) if because of serious illness or a serious injury he has been unable to finish secondary school before the end of the calendar year in which he reaches age 21;
- 3) if he has returned from abroad to do his military service and has been unable to take care of his family up to the day appointed for his being inducted into the Yugoslav People's Army;
- 4) if in his family household there is no other member capable of gainful employment, and farm work needs to be done which cannot be postponed and which cannot be performed in his absence without considerable loss to the household;
- 5) if he has no longer than 1 year left before graduation from a junior or senior postsecondary school;
- 6) if he has been informed that in a competition or through some other manner he has been permanently employed;
- 7) if he has established the employment relation for a designated period of time as a trainee--until completion of his training period;
- 8) if in the common household there are only members of the household requiring the aid and care of another person for the everyday needs of life.

## Article 36

The request for postponement of military service or postponement of completion of military service shall be submitted to the competent agency of the sociopolitical community.

The decision granting the request for postponement of military service shall contain among other things the day, month and year until which military service is being postponed.

## Article 37

The applicant for postponement of military service or completion of military service shall not be inducted to serve military service until a decision is made on his request, unless the applicant reaches age 27 in that year.

## IX. Interruption of Military Service

### Article 38

A decision to interrupt military service shall be made in the form of a decision or ruling on interruption of military service in the case of a soldier who has served the first portion of his required military service (Article 33, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph 1, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service), which shall be entered in his military registration book and other military records.

## X. Discharge of a Soldier From the Yugoslav People's Army

### Article 39

A soldier who has served his required military service or whose military service has been interrupted shall be discharged from the Yugoslav People's Army by the military unit or institution in which he is serving on the day when he completes his period of military service or when his military service is interrupted.

Upon discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army the soldier shall be presented his military registration book and health book, in which the reason for and date of his discharge from the Yugoslav People's Army shall be entered.

The provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall also apply to a cadet of a military school for active noncommissioned officers, commissioned officers or military employees whose schooling in a military school has been interrupted if he had discharged his obligation to do military service before his schooling was interrupted.



## XI. Service in the Reserves

### Article 40

Persons in the reserves shall be given credit as time spent in military training for the time which under the conditions stated in Article 32, Paragraphs 2, 4 and 5, of the Law on Compulsory Military Service they spend in courses and other forms of professional military training conducted in organizations of the amateur radio operators federation, the aeronautics federation, the rowing federation, the rifleman's federation, the scouting federation, the Partizan federation for physical fitness, the mountaineering federation, the skiing federation, the federation for underwater activities, the sailing federation, the swimming federation, the motorboating federation and in lifeguard services.

### Article 41

A person who has been transferred to the reserves in the context of Article 37 of the Law on Compulsory Military Service, after his military service has been interrupted because of temporary unfitness for military service, shall be sent for medical and other examinations and psychological testing to evaluate his fitness for military service after expiration of the period for which he was found temporarily unfit for military service.

### Article 42

Persons in the reserves shall be called up into the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense for military training sessions or performance of other duties on the basis of their military service requirement on the basis of the request of the competent military officer.

The unit or institution of the Yugoslav People's Army or territorial defense shall deliver the request referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article to the agency for keeping military records no later than 45 days before the date designated for the person in the reserves to report to the unit or institution of the SFRY Armed Forces.

## XII. Final Provisions

### Article 43

The Military Service Regulations (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ, No 62, 1974) shall cease to be valid on the day when these regulations take effect.

### Article 44

These regulations shall take effect on 1 January 1982.

7045

CSO: 2800/391

EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN OFFICER CORPS DISCUSSED

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1222, 6 Apr 82 pp 14-16

[Round table discussion organized by ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA]

[Text] The following were participants in the discussion:

Lt Col Milan Cajetinac, representative of the Political Administration of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense];

Lt Col Petar Bjelajac, representative of the Personnel Administration of the SSNO;

Lt Col Zelimir Kordik, representative of the RV 1 PVO [Air Force and Air Defense];

Lt Col Stefan Kostovski, representative of the RV 1 PVO;

Frigate Capt Milos Radulovic, representative of the RM [Navy];

Maj Vaso Kozomara, representative of the KoV [Ground Forces] Academy;

Dragan Radulovic, second-year cadet at the KoV Academy;

Branko Djurica, Mihajlo Dajmak and Zefirino Grasi of the editorial staff.

These past days, during the competition for enrollment of cadets in the military academies of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], it was noted that many high school graduates even do not know that there is such a competition, much less what the conditions are for entering it. There are even certain regions of our country which do not have a single cadet in military academies.

That was the reason why ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA organized a round table discussion and invited representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, people concerned with these matters, and attempted to learn from them why certain nationalities and ethnic minorities are showing less interest in the military vocation.

Lt Col Bjelajac: Last year coincided with the end of the medium-term plan for development from 1976 to 1981, so that at that time we conducted broad discussions on staffing military schools in that period. A rather broad analysis was made. We noted that in the period from 1976 to 1979 there was increased interest in the military calling, but then it fell off sharply. However, none of this jeopardized enrollment in military schools. But it is significant that there are certain regions (Serbia proper, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia) where there is greater interest in the uniform.

So, our discussion should not be regarded as a debate of whether the military schools can be filled or not, since the schools have been filled with good candidates. The ethnic composition of the body of cadets is another matter, since we are mindful of the constitutional obligation that all nationalities and ethnic minorities be equally represented in the YPA officer corps. During the past 5-year period we managed to steadily improve the proportions in the ethnic composition. However, it cannot be said that we achieved altogether satisfactory results. There are not enough Slovenes, for example, in military schools.

"The Restrictions Are Not Significant"

[Question] Are there also certain other republics or provinces where there is less interest in the military schools?

Lt Col Bjelajac: According to the most recent figures, there are fewer people in the military academies from SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia and SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. This does not apply to the secondary military schools, which exist in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana, and which are also open so that pupils from communities which are not adequately represented will be assembled in them.

At the military academies, for example, there is not a single candidate from 14 opstinas in Croatia and all of 16 opstinas in Slovenia.

[Question] You have probably studied the reasons for this situation, so that you could tell us something about that?

Lt Col Bjelajac: One of the assessments, if you like, is this: In our society there is a declining interest in the more difficult occupations. Fewer young men are interested in mining, in metallurgy. There is somehow a greater leaning toward the social services, toward office work and pencil work.

The pattern is similar in the armed forces. Military occupations, at least in our judgment, are among those which can be put on a par with the most difficult production occupations. After all, an officer's career necessitates maximum physical and mental efforts. And then there are also certain other specific features that do not exist in civilian life. These are the transfers, that is, the impossibility of serving in the area one comes from. Young men today are less and less willing to make that sacrifice. Gone are those days of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] when people went where they were ordered to go, by decree, and no one asked where or why. Today everyone

want to plan his own future. Though in our military organization practically everyone can work out the direction of his movement and promotion, the details cannot be foreseen. Postings and positions cannot be planned....

And then there are also certain other restrictions, though we feel that they are secondary. These are the relations in the armed forces, subordination, certain restrictions on personal freedom which do not exist in civilian life; everything that goes under the head of military discipline. There are restrictions, for instance, on travel, military personnel cannot go abroad any time they like. We were mindful of all this when we made the analysis. We examined the backgrounds (ethnic, social and family) of those who showed less interest in the military calling. Then we looked into their financial situation, how many brothers and sisters they had, how well educated their parents were, and so on.

We came to the conclusion that the children of well-off parents choose our profession less frequently, just as do the children of better-educated parents. And then in families with fewer children there is also less interest in the uniform.

[Question] Do officers' children want to follow in their fathers' footsteps?

Lt Col Bjelajac: We did not study that specifically. However, there are quite a few of those whose parents are young pensioners, and we can draw the indirect conclusion from that that these are mostly the children of military people.

#### Low Level of Prior Knowledge in Candidates From Kosovo

[Question] At a recent conference on enrollment of young people in military schools Gen Dane Petkovski said: "In the effort to guarantee the most proportionate ethnic representation in the military schools, candidates are enrolled who have a slightly poorer record in previous schooling and poorer results in psychological testing. Because of the low level of prior knowledge in their previous schooling, it is these candidates who tend to be discharged from school, which disrupts the ethnic distribution that already existed and which was at least to some extent achieved at the beginning." Would you like to explain this in a bit more detail?

Lt Col Bjelajac: The secondary schools, specifically those in Belgrade, enroll the highest number of candidates from Kosovo, Albanians. Yet obstacles have arisen in their familiarity with the language, and we were forced to introduce preparatory instruction, which lasts 1 year. Thus their schooling takes 5 years. After all, a year is spent studying the language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, everything we have concluded that they know less well than students from other elementary schools.

We have had difficulties here, since the attrition rate is highest for students of Albanian nationality. Either they did not get through the preparatory year, or they got through it somehow, but they still did not manage to fit into the regular curriculum.

[Question] What has the YPA done to make the military schools better known, to increase the interest of the "deficient" nationalities and ethnic minorities?

Maj Kozomara: I could say what we have done. The Ground Forces Academy is a school open to all citizens of the SFRY and the best information about it is provided on the spot. That is why pupils often come and talk with the cadets. However, considerably more could be done in this direction.

Our cadets take part in athletics and cultural events, they meet young people, so that this is another way in which young people learn more about the military vocation. And then we organize meetings with young people, we go to them and give lectures. We also publish the newspaper ADAKEMAC, which we send to all secondary schools in Yugoslavia. However, I think that this newspaper does not reach the right reader. I think it gets no further than the principal of the school and ends up in his drawer or wastebasket.

We feel that the competition administered by the Personnel Administration of the SSNO should be broadened. After all, there are cases when a candidate comes to a military academy and after a time sees that it is not what he expected or perhaps imagined and wished for. I therefore think that during the competitions the candidate should be brought closer to the living and working conditions and in particular should be given explanations as to what is expected of him when they finish school. After all, some young people drop out of school, they have taken the place of someone who would have graduated from the academy.

That is why when we receive calls from national defense secretariats in opstinas and groups of opstinas, we send out cadets and officers to talk with the students. People from SR Slovenia and SR Croatia are especially active in this regard, and I think it is important that we send out people who are native to those regions.

#### Young People Are Not Informed

[Question] Isn't what we might call the liberalization of young people's life somewhat out of step in the armed forces and civilian life? That is, isn't that liberalization proceeding more slowly in the armed forces, which by the nature of its organization is committed to discipline, restrictions and the like?

Lt Col Kordik: The military profession needs to be demystified. Here is what I am talking about. I think that the methods of the past are out of date. Society is now richer by many professions which are becoming increasingly open. Yet we are still at the level of the competition, at the same level of familiarity with the military vocation that existed in the past. The soldier's life is portrayed only from one angle. By and large his image is confined to whether he is exemplary, to the success of the unit which he commands, and we read or view reports from exercise grounds, journalistic pieces on military training.



However, the life of officers, cadets or students in secondary military schools amounts to more than that. There are very few articles or programs which show the cadets as athletes, poets, painters.... Why??? We need to demystify a life that seems closed off to the young man and indeed to his parents. After all, the life of a cadet is not a life of uniformity, a restricted life, though it might appear so to some people.

Which means that we have to bring our public relations up to date. We cannot say of our young people that they are liberal, that they look on life in terms of fun and games, in terms of material goods and advantages. That is perhaps a secondary motivation in adolescents. The primary motivation in a mature person is love for his calling. But unfortunately this primary motivation in our profession (honor, valor and bravery) comes down to that secondary vocation: how much is the pay, is there housing, can one go abroad?...

Mention has been made here of the efforts we are making in the academy, but they are only a part of the general public efforts which are needed. In every community the profession of the military officer needs to be demystified.

Lt Col Cajetinac: I think that the central issue is how our efforts in public relations reach the person for whom they are intended.

For instance, the Personnel Administration has organized a competition. The Political Administration has printed up advertising material, posters and the like. All of this is sent to the commands of army regions, military districts, national defense secretariats in the opstinas. But that is the end of the line as far as the local community or school is concerned.

There have been occasions when pupils have not even seen the poster or announcement of the competition. What happened to that poster? It has been found stowed away in a drawer of some school official or official of the local community.

Health: Hindrances for the School

[Question] And what is the youth organization doing in this area?

Lt Col Cajetinac: This was discussed recently in a meeting of the presidium of the Yugoslav Conference of the SSO [Socialist Youth League]. At the highest level in Yugoslavia, and that meeting was attended by representatives of all the republics and provinces, and a resolution was adopted that it was through the youth organization that the local community would be reached.

[Question] The federal and republic conferences of the SSO will adopt or have already adopted positions [to that effect]. However, the primary youth organization should inform members that the competition exists for the military academies and schools. What are they doing in this regard?

Lt Col Kostovski: I have visited Hercegovina and Kosovo, and certain youth organizations, in spite of the competition which was advertised and in spite of the advertising over television and in the daily press, did not even know that military schools exist.

Every school ought to inform young people of the competition, should inform the seniors, people in the first and second grade of pupils in schools for targeted education, and even juniors. However, it goes no further than the poster which reaches certain schools. I say "certain," since of the 12 opstinas which I visited in Hercegovina, 12 school principals asked me when the competition had been announced?

And then in Kosovo the year before last we had a very poor response (60 candidates), but since the criteria for the Marshal Tito High School are very strict, we ended up with only 2 capable pupils.

After that I made a visit there, and in 7 days more than 8,000 young people saw the film "Tito Among the Airmen." All of 600 excellent students made applications. However, the criteria are very strict in the academies and schools training specialists for the Air Force and Air Defense. It would be better than a good result if there are 200 able pilots out of 1,000 candidates. There are areas in which certain diseases are frequent. For instance, we are aware that we will not get a single pilot from certain regions. After all, we will accept five candidates for the Marshal Tito High School, two will finish, and one of them will not finish the Air Force Academy.

And then during schooling we also put them in categories, though all were enrolled to fly supersonic planes: subsonic warplanes, helicopters, transports and general air force specialists. And the smallest group is that of supersonic pilots, which is what we wanted. Precisely because of state of health.

The same is the case in schools and academies for the air force technical service. If, say, we accept 20 out of 60 applications in Kosovo, the question is how many of them will finish the second year? They do not know mathematics. Thus we do not have a single aeronautical engineer from Kosovo.

So, lack of response is not the only problem.

Different in the Navy

[Question] Is the situation the same in the Navy in view of the specific nature of this branch of the armed forces?

Frigate Capt Radulovic: Lt Col Bjelajac presented observations common to all the military academies and secondary military schools. We do, of course, have certain specific features. For instance, in our schools there is a high level of response from SR Croatia, which is not the case with the other military academies. This is probably because all our schools are in towns located in that republic, because the bases where navy officers are posted are confined to the sea and coastal towns.

However, even we have not been able to guarantee representation of the republics and nationalities in the schools. It is interesting that in all the other schools there are too many candidates from SR Serbia, but we have too few people from Serbia proper. I was born in Belgrade, and it was different in my time. There were 10 of us from Belgrade among the 36 in our class. We

now have a shortage not only of people from Belgrade, but also people from Serbia, as well as Slovenes, Albanians and Hungarians....

In spite of the popularity which we all more or less unofficially attribute to the Navy (the sea, ships, the uniform....), we still need young people, and their conceptions have changed. What awaits a naval officer is high responsibility and little free time, and that is not attractive to young people.

[Question] Are the restrictions on what we might call civil rights discouraging factors?

Lt Col Bjelajac: There are fewer and fewer of these restrictions. It is a question of a specific type of life and work.

[Question] Probably the second-year cadet from the Ground Forces Academy can tell us more about that?

Cadet Radulovic: I think that travel abroad is not an obstacle. That applies, of course, to someone who loves the profession. I had visited several European countries before I came to the academy. That means nothing to me, nor probably to others. After all, love was the main thing that brought us to the academy. I don't know if you could find any cadet in my class who came out of material motives. In my opinion, that is even a drawback for some people. When a future career as an officer is mentioned, people say: You will have a good salary, you will not pay for your schooling, you will have a place to live, you won't work so hard.... I think that puts some people off.

[Question] Perhaps it would be interesting to learn what things are being studied in military academies, what other subjects are there besides professional military subjects?

Cadet Radulovic: There are quite a few subjects which come under the heading of general education: foreign language, sociology, Marxist philosophy, mathematics. And the level of that mathematics is comparable to what is being studied in schools of electrical engineering and mechanical engineering. And then there are opportunities to engage in many activities: literature, fine arts, athletics, music, folklore.... Our basketball team, for example, won the championship last year in its league, which includes Belgrade University.

Aside from that, no one can graduate from our academy without knowing how to drive a car, how to ski, how to dance....

Lt Col Bjelajac: Now, there are few films about the military schools, and those that exist are outdated. Nor do I think there are enough pamphlets.

There has been discussion of that at the highest levels in the republics and provinces and in the Federation. Now the emphasis has to be in the opstinas, in the schools, in the local community. It was in fact pointed out at the conference that opstina national defense councils must have a particular role.

It was said that the councils ought to know how many active officers they have, how many in the reserves, how many cadets in military schools, how many candidates and people interested. If they do not have all that, then it is clear that they are not performing their function to the fullest. And some, it is obvious, are not working as they should. After all, if they were doing the job they should, we would not have the situation where there is not a single cadet from 16 opstinas in Slovenia.

I would just like to add: it is not a question of a crisis of the military profession or a crisis of response in applications for military schools. We just have to make it possible for the best people to go to the military schools.

#### There Is No Deviation From the Quota System

[Question] So, it is obvious that the reason for this lies in the quota system. Since when has it been applied?

Lt Col Bjelajac: This has been the practice throughout the entire postwar period. Indeed the constitution provides that all the republics and provinces must be equally represented on a per capita basis in the armed forces.

[Question] In a case when there is not a high level of interest among certain nationalities and ethnic minorities, is it a better solution to lower the standards, as is done, or to choose the best even though it would disrupt the quota system?

Lt Col Bjelajac: In practice, when we are choosing cadets, we make up a ranking by republics and provinces, and then by nationalities. In this way the equality of all ethnic groups is guaranteed.

Were we to make up a single list, then we would not have a single cadet from certain communities. In this case we guarantee equality, though some have a poorer record. This is a necessity, and there is no departure from it. After all, the subsequent administration of personnel policy, all the way to the very top levels, depends on the kind of base that is created in the schools.

7045

CSO: 2800/398

SERBIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY APPEAL FOR PROTECTION IN KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 82 pp 1-4

[Appeal signed by Serbian priests and monks: "Appeal for Protection of the Serbian Population and Its Shrines in Kosovo"]

[Text] The signatories of this APPEAL for Protection of the Serbian Population and Its Shrines in Kosovo and Metohija are the following Serbian priests and monks:

On Good Friday,  
16/3 April 1982

(There follow 21 signatures of priests and monks from Belgrade, Sabac, Valjevo, Novi Sad, Zemun, Ub, Prizren, Kotor, Ljubljana, Tuzla, Tarnava, Velika Plana, and the Orahovica, Devic, Celije, Ovcar and Pokajnica monasteries.)

The appeal has been sent to the SFRY State Presidency, the Presidency of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, the Assembly of SR Serbia, and the Holy Synod of Archpriests for the Holy Council of Archpriests. The text has been sent to all major Belgrade newspapers.

We the undersigned orthodox Serbian priests and monks, aware of our responsibility before God and history, are compelled by our conscience to raise our voice to protect the spiritual and biological existence of the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija.

The Serbian Church has been reproached because its voice has not so far been heard in public on this issue. Many on the other hand feel that it even lacks "the competency" to speak on matters of this kind. There will certainly be those who will say of this appeal that it originates with "presumptuous people" and comes from a place which "lacks jurisdiction."

The truth is that the church, taught by its 1,000 years of experience, knows that there is a time for patient silence and a time to speak. And that sometimes its silence is more eloquent than any speech (events have indicated that its silence today has been of precisely that nature and that perhaps the fact



that it has not been heard so far is in itself an eloquent datum concerning its position). And as for its and our "incompetency," that is another of the strange misunderstandings of our time! The church, which is woven organically into the historical and spiritual existence of this people, before Kosovo, during Kosovo and after Kosovo right up to the present day, onto whose living flesh every blow intended for the Serbian people falls first (the Pec Patriarchate is the most recent proof of this)--can its destiny and the destiny of its people be resolved without it and bypassing it? We are conscious of that fact and also of the seriousness of the historic moment, a moment when, it seems, silence would be equivalent to approval or, still more, to the crime of betrayal of our people, and we have therefore decided on this modest word addressed to the competent people and to all truth-loving men. After all, it seems to us that everything that has been undertaken to solve the problems of Kosovo has not been sufficient to what has actually been happening in Kosovo, nor has it been sufficient to the seriousness of the problem itself, nor has it been historically farsighted, and as such it can have unforeseen and tragic consequences for all of us: Serbs, Albanians and Yugoslavs in general.

We would like to emphasize first of all that we cannot escape the impression that over the issue of Kosovo there has been in our time an intentional or unintentional replacement of the real problem by secondary or imagined problems. We are convinced, however, that until the real essence of the Kosovo problem is brought out, there can be no true and fair solution for the two peoples, the Serbian and Albanian, whom history and destiny have placed one to the other, as in the past, so in the present and in the future. Things have to be called by their right names out of a respect for our own dignity and also out of a concern for our destiny under God's sun, but also out of respect for another nationality, whatever it might be, and out of a concern for its future and destiny and concern for mutual life with it in the same space.

It will perhaps be said that viewed in these terms Kosovo is a "myth" or even a "negative myth" of the Serbs, but that is only for people blind to an examination of the soul of the Serbian people and its historical existence. One thing should be clear to all and everyone for yesterday, today and tomorrow: the Serbian people has no more cherished word than the word "Kosovo," nor a more valuable reality, nor a greater shrine, past, present and future, than the reality and shrine of Kosovo. For Serbs the question of Kosovo is not a mere biological issue, or an issue solely of a "region," "province" or "republic." It is something incomparably greater and more than that. "The Serbian cause," in the words of the exceedingly wise Serbian woman Isidora Sekulic, "does not consist of bread and schools and a government, but it is Kosovo; and Kosovo is a grave, a grave in which everything is buried; and resurrection once again is through the grave. There is no resurrection without death." The question of Kosovo is the question of the spiritual, cultural and historical identity of the Serbian people. Kosovo was the first truth and reality for this people after Saint Sava where the entire people expressed itself and arrived at its collective completeness and integrity. There is no Serb who has not thought, spoken and written about Kosovo, lamented it and been reborn thereby. They cannot even be listed: the books, speeches, poems, works, laments, hopes and joys about Kosovo. That is why for us this is not a matter of statistics. Over the 700 years of its existence, its real presence in our

present and future, with our Pec Patriarchate, with Decani, Gracanica, with the Kosovo martyrs and the Serbian Kosovo pledge and commitment, Kosovo is our memory, our hearth, the focus of our existence. And to take away a peoples' memory signifies its murder and its spiritual destruction. Everyone should be aware of this, including the Albanians who have been our neighbors for centuries. The Jewish people, out of the indispensable need of survival among the living and through the miracle of its uninterrupted memory, even against historical logic, is returning after a surfeit of suffering to its Jerusalem after 2,000 years. In a similar way the Serbian people has been fighting its Battle of Kosovo up to the present day, fighting for specifically that memory of its identity, for its meaningful presence and survival in this space right from 1389 to today. And when it seemed that the battle had finally been won, all of a sudden Kosovo is ceasing to be ours, and we are ceasing to be what we are! And that without a war, in peace and freedom! At a time when numerous other peoples are returning to their native places after several centuries of absence, the Serbian people is extinguishing what has been its hearth for many centuries and is fleeing from it! Why?

We are putting a difficult and painful question, horrified by what is happening in front of our eyes: What are those infernal and irrational forces which have been successful in doing in a few decades spent in a peace that was paid for with streams of blood what Turkish enslavement was unable to do in five centuries?! The fact that the Battle of Kosovo has lasted from 1389 up to the present day is a sign that the Serbian people in Kosovo has not yet surrendered and that Kosovo has been ours even up until the present day. But today? And tomorrow?

We understand the difficult sufferings and frequent departures of Serbs moving out of Kosovo and other places and the destruction of the shrines of the people that have occurred from the Battle of Kosovo up to the most recent times. This is the eternal destiny of slaves in all times and places. We also understand the reasons why the Patriarch Arsenius III cried when he was "fleeing day and night with his impoverished people from place to place, like a ship in the middle of the great ocean," and the unceasing "lamentation followed by lamentation, when there was nowhere help could come from." We can also understand the tragic hopelessness of the disoriented and impoverished people in Kosovo and Metohija after the migrations in the 17th and 18th century, especially after the Pec Patriarchate was abolished, when numerous Serbs and Albanians were Islamized under the pressure of Turkish coercion nor are we so very much amazed at the violence of the privileged Albanians and others converted to Islam who after the Serbian migrations settled in Kosovo and Metohija and who, in the language of the people, spilled even the mother's milk of those who remained faithful to their hearth and to their spiritual and ethnic existence. This incidentally was in the spirit of the policy of the "sick man" from the Bosphorus: to engender bloodshed among brothers and with converts, voluntary and involuntary, to destroy the last remnants of the cross and the last resistance of the Serbian people in Kosovo.

Of the numerous shocking and characteristic accounts of that period concerning the situation of the Serbs in Kosovo and the crushing results of the sinister Turkish policy toward the Serbs at that time, conducted usually through

Islamized Albanians, we will cite only two. The priest Petar, who was struggling to rebuild the church at Nerodimlje, which had been destroyed, writes with a group of Serbs from Nerodimlje on 4 March 1872: "One Albanian cow is worth more here than all the Christians and all the Christian churches. Our situation is pitiable and cannot be described.... Twice in 2 years we have been afflicted with fires, just so that they can steal our property and carry it away. The old churches are falling down, they cannot be rebuilt.... We cry, but no one hears us, but they even say: I am your canon (= law).... We enter pleas, but no one will take our part, but go on saying: Your rights in Kosovo expired when Lazar died. We hope for something better, but it gets worse and worse."

The moving and extensive testimony of Serafim Ristic, iguman of Decani, from the middle of the last century is similar. On behalf of the oppressed and persecuted people of Pec District the iguman complains to the Turkish sultan of the "acts of terror and abuse by the violent Albanians which have exceeded all measure and if they are not stopped, we will be forced to leave our land, which is steeped with the blood of our ancestors, and move away from the burned ruins of our houses.... After all, even our very shrines are not left alone by the malefactors.... It is known who they are who did this, but it is no use saying so, since we have obtained no benefit from what we have said up to now."

All these events are horrifying, but also explicable in terms of the Turkish enslavement. What is inexplicable and what astounds not only us, but every man of common sense is the fact that almost this very same thing is happening and being done today in the same way to the Serbs in Kosovo. There is no example from the past suffering which has not recurred with the Serbs in Kosovo over the last 20 years, from the threat to lives and property to the burning of the Pec Patriarchate, to the defacing of holy graves, offenses against schoolchildren and monks, the blinding of livestock because it is Serbian. We have all been aware of this, though for a long time it was a prohibited, "taboo" topic, which often some of the bolder ones paid for very dearly. It is not the Serbs who have rebelled in Kosovo, and are now meeting the retribution they deserve, since the atrocities have been committed by those who are most contented and privileged. We are not referring here to the entire Albanian people in Kosovo, but the question is still how the "handfuls of enemies" were able to persecute and drive out 100,000 people in just 10 years or so?

It can be said without any exaggeration that a planned and deliberate genocide is being carried out step by step on the Serbian people in Kosovo! After all, if that is not so, then what is the meaning of the thesis of "ethnically pure Kosovo," which is being implemented at all costs through the uninterrupted and unceasing emigration? Or again, what is the meaning of the word frequently repeated in the villages and hamlets, in the monasteries and churches, and indeed even in the cities themselves: "What are you waiting for? Move out of here, this is ours!" It is understandable that these things should have been said and done in the time of the church, but how is one to explain the fact that the exodus of the Serbs continued not only during the period of the last occupation, but also after the Liberation, especially since 1968 and up until this very day, and what is more, it has intensified since last year! It is

being intensified by the atmosphere that has been created, by the vandalistic methods, on the basis of a long-range program being carried out in a deliberate and organized way, overtly and covertly, before the eyes of the entire world. Neither we nor you are unaware, nor is our general public unaware, that the forcible emigration of our people from Kosovo has at times been assisted even by official authorities in Kosovo, no matter which, so that the Serbian hearths, forcibly extinguished, on which often even blood was shed, could be inhabited by "emigres" from Albania.

It is horrible to even think of the ghastly reality, much less feel it through and through, that the Serbs no longer have the promise of life in their Kosovo, since Kosovo is no longer theirs (though we Serbs have never said that it was only ours). After all, we should not be led astray by the involutioned rhetoric and stories: Today the question is being drastically put for the first time that Kosovo is not ours. And in many respects it seems that the Battle of Kosovo which has gone on for centuries will come to an end here in our time--with the third and last exodus of the Serbs, that is, with the final defeat, the most horrible in the history of this people and this country. It will end, in other words, with peaceful and genocidally deliberate eradication, which is so calmly referred to as the "emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo," as though it were a question of tourism, of "moving from the south to the north," and not of trails of blood all over Serbia as a whole and Serbia proper, trails that have been fresh with blood for decades! We wonder in what country in the world, be it friendly or hostile, the Serbs or any of our nationalities or ethnic minorities would have been forcibly expelled and persecuted while we look on so peacefully and discuss "who is responsible for this" or say "we are all responsible," which means that no one is! The suffering of just one human being on the earth causes general indignation and uneasiness in the world and in us, and still the unreckoned and immeasurable suffering of 100,000 emigres and another 250,000 men, women and children who have not emigrated from Kosovo, does this really come down to "discussions" in meetings and commissions, to journalistic reports and debates in the press and on television? What is wrong with us, with this community, and what is wrong with that proud and patriarchal mountain people whose children, young men and adults have been setting fire to churches, vandalizing graveyards, and harassing and perfidiously murdering their neighbors for centuries?

In the end God is our witness and our conscience, and our people is our witness and judge: We have never wished the Albanians any harm, but we only want to preserve our people and our shrines in Kosovo for our own sake and for their sake. After all, we are very familiar with our way of the cross and we know our bittersweet Kosovo pledge and commitment, and with sincere hearts, together with Marko Miljanov, "We wish the Albanian people every good, let this be known to our God." But our question is this: Who of us dares, and in the name of whom and what, to allow something like Serbian Kosovo to experience its tragic end and demise? Who dares to deprive us so much of our memory and existence? Who is it who dares to take upon himself the responsibility for history for Kosovo being ethnically and spiritually lost in his time? No one other than the one who truly has lost Kosovo, since only he knows what Kosovo is. It is not just a matter of Gracanica, which, according to the Serbian poetess, "Were it possible for it to ascend into the heavens ... so



deeply is it implanted in this earth and in our own selves." But the question is the meaning of Kosovo Polje and its shrines to Pec and Decani, all overflowing with scattered bones and the sacred remains of the saints, those indisputable and most lasting titles which a people has to its land, until that people loses its self-consciousness and ceases to be what it is.

One thing is obvious: He who has moved away from his age-old hearth, to which he had remained faithful even in the most horrifying earlier trials, has, then, felt himself threatened at the very core of his being. That is why we can quite confidently apply to our present situation in Kosovo the words of B. Nusic jotted down in the time of the Turks, at the outset of this century: "The Serbian population in Kosovo feels more and more isolated and abandoned every day."

Disturbed and shaken by this act and this awareness, we the undersigned priests are doing what we can: We are expressing our solidarity with "those who have been persecuted in a just cause and driven" from their and our age-old hearths, and we are raising our voice before our own and the world public in defense of the most elementary human rights of the Kosovo population and the threatened shrines of the Serbian people on its own soil. We go even so far as to call upon the competent agencies of government to present in public and in a responsible way the real reasons why the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija has felt itself so unprotected and left to itself and to hostile tyranny and to conscientiously reassess those reasons. All of this in a sincere desire that sober and just ways will be found toward resolution and reason, in order to remove the shame and restore the normal life of us all in our common household.

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